

MODERN INDIA

A Textbook of History for Middle Schools

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FOREWORD

This textbook is the third and the last in the series of textbooks in Indian history for middle schools. The first two textbooks, *Ancient India* and *Medieval India*, have already been published.

This textbook deals with the important changes that took place in the life of the Indian people from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the achievement of independence. It attempts to analyse the historical development of modern India through a study of the movements and institutions rather than individuals and specific events.

My colleagues Dr. G. L. Adhya and Shri Arjun Dev had to write this book within a very short time. They accepted this challenging task and completed it within the short time that was allowed to them. The Council is grateful to them for their work.

The exercises given at the end of each chapter have been prepared by Shri S. H. Khan and Shri Om Prakash. The illustrations were drawn by Shri K. C. Wagh. The Council is grateful to all of them.

As stated above, this book had to be prepared within a very short time. The task of revising it for the second edition has already been taken up. We shall be grateful to our readers for any comments and suggestions in this regard.

S.V.C. ARYA
Director

National Council of Educational
Research and Training

New Delhi
August 1972

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CHAPTER I

The Modern World

IMAGINE a person who lived, say, in the seventeenth century, somehow coming back to life today. He would find himself in a world almost entirely different from the one he was familiar with in his own time. He may find a few of the buildings he was familiar with still standing, some in ruins and some intact. But he would find that almost everything else had changed beyond recognition. He would find many more cities and towns than there were in his time. Not only that he would find that these cities are very different from the one he was familiar with but that their very nature is different. Even the landscape is different because during his time, there were no factories, no metalled roads, not even the type of houses he would find now. On the roads there would be vehicles of various types he had never even imagined before and may only on a rare occasion come across a means of transport that would resemble the one that he might have used before. The sight of an aeroplane in the sky or a train on the rails would surprise him. In the shops, he would find things he had never seen before and it would take him some time to know the uses of some of these things. In villages, he would find that some new methods of cultivating the land

have come into use. There may even be some crops that he had never seen before. Soon he would also discover equally surprising changes in society, politics, culture, in fact, almost in everything. Even the language he would hear people speak would not be quite the same. Thus he would find himself in a very different world, different even from the world he might have imagined or dreamt of.

This book deals with some of the things that have happened in the world, particularly in our own country in the past two to three hundred years. They have so completely changed the world and India as well that it has become almost unrecognizable to our imaginary friend from the seventeenth century. You already have some knowledge of how people lived in the ancient and medieval times. You know that from the time of its very birth, the world has never stood still. And this is particularly true of the world of man. The world has been continuously changing as a result of the activities of man in cooperation with his fellowmen and whether it is society, economy, political institutions, art and culture, almost everything has been undergoing constant changes. The changes that have taken place in the last few hundred years have been very fast. What are these changes that have made our times so different from the times of our friend? How and when did they begin and how did they proceed? Our seventeenth century friend who finds himself at a loss in the midst of the conditions in which we live would naturally be curious to know and understand how these changes have come about. To be able to understand these changes, he would

have to understand the history of the past two to three centuries. If we wish to understand the times we live in, we too have to study the things that have happened during this period.

How do we know the history of this period ? You have learnt before how remains of the past, whether they are the buildings and artefacts which archaeologists have discovered for us, or written records in the form of inscriptions on stone or metal, or documents and books, have helped us to reconstruct the history of the ancient and medieval times. For the modern period, our sources of information are abundant. Very few of them which can tell us the story of this period have been completely destroyed. People also have taken great care to preserve many of these sources. Books, documents and records relating to the affairs of the government have been preserved in the archives and you can see them and read them. Other books written and printed in this period are also still extant in the libraries and even in many of our homes. Many of these books and records of various kinds are reprinted every year so that they become easily accessible to all those who may wish to read them. There are other things also that you can still see and 'read'. For example, the old and important buildings, and many of the machines, which had first begun to be used, say in the middle of the nineteenth century, and are either being preserved in the industrial museums or are still in use. Then there are men still alive who have helped to bring about some of the very important changes in our country in the recent times. Many people

who fought against imperialism to make India free are still alive. Some of them may be even our family members — our elders. We can ask them to tell us about our freedom movement. Thus there are many things, some easily accessible and some in our midst, that can tell us much about one or other aspect of the modern history of our country.

Why do we designate our history from the eighteenth century as the history of modern India? The history of India, as that of other countries, is usually divided into ancient, medieval and modern periods. This is done with a view to show that the society, economy, politics and culture of each period are so different from the preceding one or ones that each of them can be treated as a whole. The new elements in one period become much more important to it than the older elements continuing from the preceding ones. You are familiar with some of the reasons why the history of medieval India is different from the history of ancient India. The differences between medieval times and modern times in our history are even more fundamental. This is so because changes in the modern times have been faster than ever before and thus have caused much more deeper changes in our lives. We, in this book, begin the history of modern India in the eighteenth century because many of the changes that are the characteristics of modern times can be said to have begun in this period. Many of these changes first began in other parts of the world and came to us under conditions which were not of our choice, as our country had gone under foreign domination. They came in forms which were

harmful to us in many ways, created more problems than were necessary and often disturbed the process of development of our society. However, the life of the people in our country has been deeply affected by these changes and we have to understand what changes took place, how they took place and why they took place in the way they did.

You may remember how much divided our country had become in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. The administration was weak and people's life and property insecure. The European merchants then trading in different corners of India took advantage of this situation and a group of them coming from England became the master of the land. For the next two hundred years India remained in bondage which kept her backward and delayed her becoming modern. However, changes also took place here, though usually halting, but strong enough to unite us to fight for our independence and become a sovereign nation.

Before we turn to the story of India's decline and recovery during this period we shall state here, in brief, the main trends of changes and improvements in the world outside, especially in Europe. Europe contributed most to the making of the modern age as many of the changes and improvements which have brought in the modern age first began there. This would help us to understand India's recent past better.

Impact of the Renaissance

The progress made in the modern age did not come all of a sudden. Man's spirit of enquiry and adventure to know

what he does not know has always guided him to go ahead. Fresh incentives to advance human knowledge and explore new lands came especially from a movement which first originated in some Italian towns in the late medieval period. This is known as the Renaissance, the story of which you have already been told. The Renaissance inspired many people in Europe to think for themselves and boldly question all established principles and institutions. This led to the growth of the scientific method, that is, learning by questioning, observation and experimentation. Modern scientific and technological discoveries are all based on the application of this method. The questioning spirit also provoked some Europeans to revolt against autocratic rulers and objectionable practices of the Roman Catholic Church based on blind faith. This attitude gradually spread to other parts of the world also as contacts were established with them through trade and other means.

During the later part of the medieval period many towns prospered in Europe because trade had also developed. These towns—Milan, Florence, Venice, Paris, Bordeaux, London, Oxford, Cambridge, Dover, Antwerp, Hamburg, Leipzig—to name a few, were located either at the crossings of trade routes or on the sea and river side, places convenient for trade. The merchants, living in these towns, are naturally the most important section of the people there. Compared with the countryside the towns were freer places where all kinds of new thinking and activities of art and literature flourished. The importance of this community gradually grew

as the volume of trade increased and the merchants came to occupy high positions in society and government. Thus, a new group—the middle class—staying between the nobles and the common people came into being. The merchants were joined by skilled artisans and later on by the manufacturers, to increase the size and importance of the middle class. The members of this class remained for a long time the agents of progress in the modern age. We shall see that in India too the middle class, which arose some time afterwards but had a different kind of background, played an important role in the struggle for independence, democracy and national reconstruction.

The Industrial Revolution

The expansion of trade at home and abroad compelled the European businessmen to improve the system of production so that more goods could be produced quickly. The high demand of goods brought big changes in the methods of production. So far the artisans used to work at home with simple tools and were helped by the members of their families. They collected the necessary raw materials from the merchants and supplied them the finished goods. This “domestic system” could not meet the demands of the growing market for long. In the eighteenth century it gave way to the “factory system” The factory owner invested a large amount of money to collect raw materials in huge quantity, employed many artisans who could now work with the help of newly invented machines and sold the finished good to the merchants. Under the new

The Industrial Revolution led to tremendous increase in the production of goods. However, the primary aim of the owners of industries was to make profit; hence there was no improvement in the conditions of life of the common people. In the industrial towns of England in the nineteenth century, the condition of the people was miserable. The illustration shows an English slum of the period. People began to organise themselves to improve their living conditions.



system the factory owner or the capitalist was the most powerful person in society. England was the first country to develop this system. Through trade with countries in Asia and America some English businessmen had accumulated enough surplus money. Moreover, the use of machines first began in England. The invention of spinning-jenny, new kinds of loom, and steam-power greatly increased the production of English manufactured goods for export. The

new system of production had another important effect as it brought a great change in society. The self-employed artisans had to go and their function was taken up by two groups of people, the capitalist employers and the wage earning labourers. This whole development is known as the Industrial Revolution. It started in England in the later part of the eighteenth century. In course of time this Revolution affected the system of production and the set-up of society everywhere. Further inventions like those of electricity, blast furnace, new devices of casting and rolling iron made it even more powerful. The Industrial Revolution produced results which influenced the course of modern history to a great extent.

The American and French Revolutions

The later part of the eighteenth century saw two more revolutions which proved to be the pioneering movements towards the establishment of the rights to freedom and equality for the common people of all lands. These are the American War of Independence and the French Revolution.

The first one involved the English government against its thirteen colonies in North America. The settlers in the English colonies of North America were under the rule of the mother country England which used to collect taxes from the settlers. As the taxes went high and many kinds of restrictions on business and administration were imposed by the English government, the colonies started protesting and there were uprisings in many places in the sixties and early seventies of the eighteenth century.



In 1776, the Declaration of Independence was adopted. The news was received with wild enthusiasm by the people of the English colonies in North America. The illustration shows the people pulling down the statue of George III, the then king of England. (*Courtesy : United States Information Service, New Delhi*).

Many settlers were inspired by the radical thinking of that time as expressed in the writings of some English and French philosophers. According to this thinking, man has certain fundamental rights which no government can take away. Right to rebellion was one such right and the American leader Thomas Jefferson encouraged the fellow-settlers to exercise this right. On 4 July 1776, the representatives of the thirteen colonies met together and adopted the Declaration of Independence. It stated that all men are created equal,

that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. As these rights were repeatedly infringed by the English government the Americans started the War of Independence. Eventually the colonies were recognised as free and they formed a republican form of government and called themselves the United States of America. In a republic, the government derives its power from the general body of the people. The people's representatives who now formed the new government in North America adopted a Bill of Rights which guaranteed to all the citizens the rights to the freedom of speech, press and religion and justice under law.

Soon after, there was a revolution in France. In the eighteenth century France, there were philosophers like Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu who prepared the foundation of a revolution there. These thinkers valued reason above everything and openly challenged monarchy, belief in religion and many other age-old convictions. At this time, the condition of the common people of France was miserable while the nobles and the high-ups in the Church enjoyed all the privileges. Against this background, the king of France, Louis XVI, wanted to impose more taxes and collect fresh loans from the people. The radical ideas of the French Philosophers had already inspired the common people to assert their rights to govern themselves. Now they struck and the revolution broke out. Their representatives declared themselves to be the National Assembly of France. On 14 July 1789, the people broke open the State prison of Bastille. It symboli-

sed the fall of autocracy. The National Assembly adopted the "Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen" announcing that "men are born and remain free and equal in rights." The Republic of France was established and Liberty, Fraternity and Equality became its guiding principles.

Nationalism

For establishing democracy and sovereignty of the people in all countries of the modern world, people have been inspired by the revolutions of America and France. These revolutions also strengthened the idea of nationalism. Nationalism and the formation of nations are modern phenomena as well. You know of kingdoms and empires of the ancient and medieval times. They were not nations in the sense in which we use the term today. Nations began to be formed when a people, who had had a long and common history of inhabiting a definite territory, began to consider themselves as one people, dependent on one another and distinct from other peoples. This happened very largely due to the growth of a common economic life, first as a result of the growth of trade and commerce, and later on, of industry. The bonds which the common history and culture of a people had created were cemented by the growth of a common economic life. New groups of people that arose in society as a result of the growth in trade and industry, particularly the middle class, helped this process of developments. In some countries of Europe towards the end of the middle ages, the merchants, and later the manufacturers could not work in freedom unless they were able to do away with the divisions within society which the

feudal lords had created. So they supported their king and helped him to defeat the feudal lords and strengthened his hands in introducing uniform laws throughout the land. A country, parts or the whole of which were under foreign domination, began to struggle to overthrow the foreign rule and establish itself as a united nation. Thus, in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, there were struggles for freedom and national unification in Poland, Greece, Germany, Italy and other countries. Many of these succeeded in the nineteenth century, for example, Italy and Germany, in unifying themselves into nations. Others struggled on and won their freedom in the twentieth century. The struggle for democracy and for national independence from foreign domination and national unification have been the most active factors in shaping the world during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

Imperialism

While parts of Europe and America were building up democratic and national governments and using machines to develop their industries, what had been going on in India and other countries in Asia ? You know the story of the European sailors and traders coming to Asian ports from the fifteenth century onwards to buy spices, calico, muslin, tea, sugar, saltpetre, etc. which were much in demand in Europe. These people were mainly from Portugal, Holland, Denmark, England and France—all maritime countries. Ceylon, India, Malaya and Indonesia were the places wherefrom the European traders collected their merchandise. For monopolising

the Asian trade through which huge profits were made, these traders often fought among themselves for which they got military help from their respective governments. By the middle of the eighteenth century we find that the East India Company of England had become the most dominant group among the European traders in Asia with India as their most important base. The traders of other European countries established their centres of operation in South East Asia. All of them appeared in the coastal areas of China in the nineteenth century.

At this time the situation in Asian and African countries was much different from that of Europe. The governments were weak. None of them had any worthwhile naval power which was the need of the time, and the economic changes that had made some European countries strong had not yet started. The new groups or class of people like the middle class that had been the backbone of these changes in Europe, were not yet developed there. The Europeans detected these weaknesses during their trading activities. Soon followed an age of European conquest and colonial rule over Asia and Africa.

Apart from the weaknesses of Asia and Africa, there was another major factor that tempted the Europeans to conquer and establish colonies there. We have seen above the enormous growth in the production of goods in England because of the Industrial Revolution. To keep it going and thus fetch more profits to the owners of the factories, ready markets for the finished goods and new sources of raw materials were necessary. As the Industrial Revolution spread to other parts of

Europe, only the backward countries where industry had not yet developed remained fit places for this purpose. The Europeans were well acquainted with the markets in Asia, and to make them secure political domination over them was established.

Thus started the colonial imperialist conquest of Asia. From the middle of the nineteenth century this spread to Africa as well. Everywhere it was more or less the similar story of European explorers coming first, followed by the traders and finally government of the trading countries coming to control the area politically to have the maximum benefit. Europeans with their better economic conditions, stronger military forces and newly developed national pride triumphed over the people of Asia and Africa who had no knowledge of modern science and technology and lacked political unity.

In their colonies in Asia and Africa, the Europeans, excepting a very few, stayed only to rule and make more profits. They not only kept themselves aloof from the local peoples but also discriminated against them in matter of job and living conditions. This discrimination fostered a feeling of distrust and hatred between the Europeans and the peoples of Asia and Africa. In Africa particularly, the racial discrimination was most bitter. In those parts of Africa where the Europeans built up settlements, they took away the lands of the local people, denied them human rights and forced them to live in separate zones.

By the end of the century the major parts of Asia and

Africa either went under the direct control of European imperialism or remained within its sphere of influence. The European countries like Germany and Italy which joined the colony-making race late found themselves at a disadvantage. The possession of colonies had also become a symbol of national pride for the Europeans besides being a source of economic gains.

Commercial and imperial rivalries divided these countries into rival groups. This rivalry was the main reason for the two World Wars, one during 1914-18 and another during 1939-45. World never saw damage on such a large scale as during these wars. Destruction extended right up to the heart of all warring countries. Invention of very powerful weapons which could be used from a very long distance turned these wars into "total wars" involving all people and property of the enemy countries.

The Second World War weakened the imperial powers very much and slackened their hold on the colonies. The world opinion against imperialism was also roused. But the struggle against imperial power had started in the colonies long back and freedom fighters had to work hard and make many sacrifices. Since 1945 when the Second World War ended, most countries in Asia and Africa have become independent.

New Movements

The twentieth century saw some revolutions through which a completely new social system has been established in some countries. The French Revolution initiated the world to

democracy which promised everybody equal political rights. But the growth of modern industries and the system of free market divided the people into two classes : the capitalists and the labourers. The labourers did not receive much of the gains of new industries and remained poor and often unemployed. In this condition the political right to equality becomes meaningless without economic and social equality.

In the nineteenth century, workers began to organise themselves into associations called 'trade unions' to defend and promote their common interests. They also started organising themselves into political movements aimed at creating new and better ways of living. Many thinkers and philosophers gave the ideas of creating better ways of living a systematic form. Some of them advocated that factories, land and other means of producing goods should not be the property of a few individuals but should be owned by all the people as a whole and worked for the good of all. Of these thinkers, the ideas of two have had a world-wide impact. These two thinkers, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, were close friends and worked and developed their ideas together for about 40 years. They said that as in the past when outmoded forms of economy, society etc., have changed and replaced by other better systems, the economic and social life that developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which they called capitalism would be replaced by a new system of society, a socialist society. In a socialist society all the things that are used to produce the necessities of life—land, factories, etc.—would become the collective property of entire society and not of a few individuals. Political movements based on



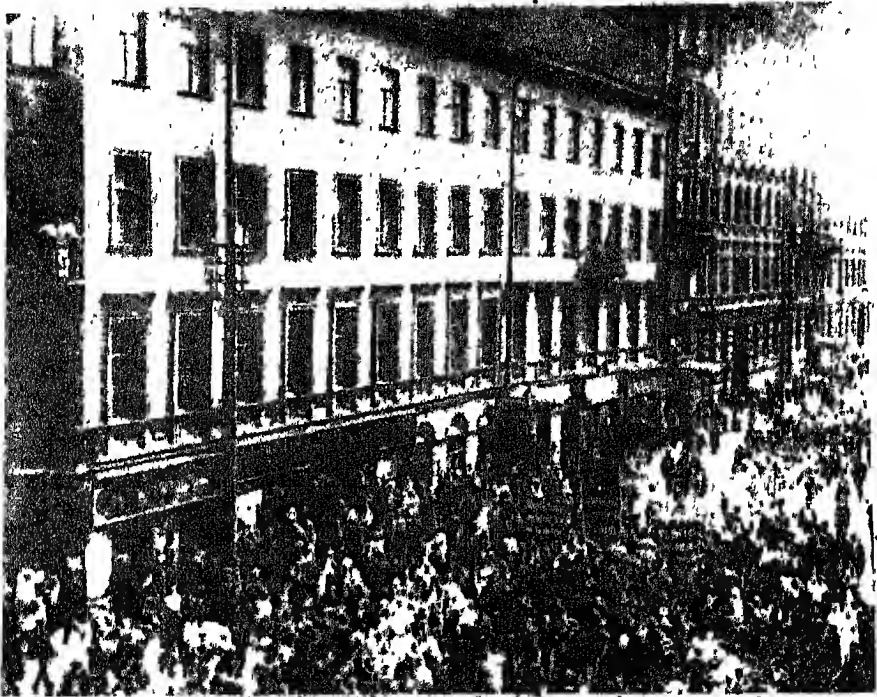
Karl Marx



Frederick Engels

their ideas grew in almost every part of the world with a view to bring about socialism. In 1917, the first successful revolution of the type advocated by these thinkers, occurred in Russia. It resulted in the overthrow of the autocratic rule of the Czars, the emperors of Russia, and the building up of socialism in the U.S.S.R. The Russian Revolution, like the American and the French Revolutions that had occurred before, has had a great influence over us during the period when we were fighting for our independence and also in our efforts at building a better life for ourselves. The impact of the ideas of Marx and Engels and of the Russian Revolution have been deep on many other countries also in some of which revolutions to establish socialism have taken place.

Thus we see that the world has passed through many movements and upheavals during the last 250 years or so.



Revolution broke out in Russia in 1917. It led to the overthrow of the Czar and the building of a socialist society. The illustration shows a demonstration of the people on the streets of St. Petersburg, the capital of Russia in those days. Some time after the Revolution, the city was renamed Leningrad after the greatest leader of the Revolution, V. I. Lenin.

(Courtesy : Information Department of the Embassy of the U. S. S. R., New Delhi)

The peoples of different countries have come very close to one another as a result of these. After the world wars international organisations have been formed—the League of Nations after the First World War and the United Nations after the Second World War—to bring all the countries together and solve their disputes through peaceful means. But still there are many things which create tensions and divide the peoples of the world. Within each country also, there are problems that you will understand as you grow up and know more and more about your own country and the world.

You have read about some of the major developments in the world in the modern times. With these as the perspective, you will read in the following chapters the developments that took place in our country from the eighteenth century.

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CHAPTER II

India in the Eighteenth Century

Disintegration of the Mughal Empire

THE Mughal Empire, as you have already read in the book on 'Medieval India', had succeeded in uniting almost the entire country. An efficient administrative system had been developed during Akbar's reign which helped in maintaining the stability of the empire for the next 150 years and in expanding it. You have also read of the progress made in this period in various aspects of culture—in art and architecture, in music and literature.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, the last of the Great Mughals, there had been revolts against the Empire. These were the revolts of the Marathas, the Sikhs, the Jats and many others. After the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire began to disintegrate fairly fast. The country soon broke up into smaller territories some of which became nearly independent.

The Later Mughals

The Mughal emperors who came to the throne after the death of Aurangzeb are called the Later Mughals. The actual

power under these rulers passed into the hands of nobles. They formed themselves into many groups usually on the basis of their common origin. For example, the nobles who had come from Trans-Oxiana in Central Asia formed one group and were known as the Turanis. Similarly, there were groups of Irani, Afghan and Hindustani nobles, the last named consisting of those officers who were settled in India for a long time. Each of the groups tried to establish its own supremacy and establish its own power.

You have read before that by the end of Aurangzeb's reign, the number of *mansabdars* in the Empire had increased many times compared with the number during Akbar's reign. Though the revenue had declined because of the revolts in different parts of the empire, the number of *mansabdars* had increased. And each *mansabdar* demanded bigger *jagirs* which would yield him more revenue. The *mansabdars* resisted the transfer from one place to another. They tried to make their rule and rights over *jagirs* permanent and hereditary. The distribution of the *jagirs* was in the hands of the *wazir*. The nobles, therefore, fought to capture the office of the *wazir* to promote the interests of their relatives and followers.

In the war of succession that followed the death of Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah was victorious. During his short reign, 1707-1712, Bahadur Shah tried to restore the goodwill of the Mughal Empire by conciliating the Marathas and the Rajputs. He released Shahu, the grandson of Shivaji, who had been imprisoned by Aurangzeb.

Jahandar Shah came to the throne in 1712 with the help of Zulfiqar Khan, who was Aurangzeb's senior most general. The *jizya* was abolished during his reign. Jahandar Shah was overthrown within a little over a year after coming to the throne. Farrukhsiyar became the Emperor in 1713 with the help of a section of nobles. The most powerful nobles in this period were Abdullah Khan and Husain Ali Khan, popularly known as the Saiyid brothers. When the Emperor tried to suppress the power of the Saiyid brothers, he was put to death in 1719. The Saiyids raised to the throne, successively two cousins of Farrukhsiyar and then another cousin, Mohammad Shah, who became the Emperor in 1720. However, soon after that the Saiyid brothers were overthrown by a group of nobles led by Chin Qilich Khan who had been a famous general of Aurangzeb.

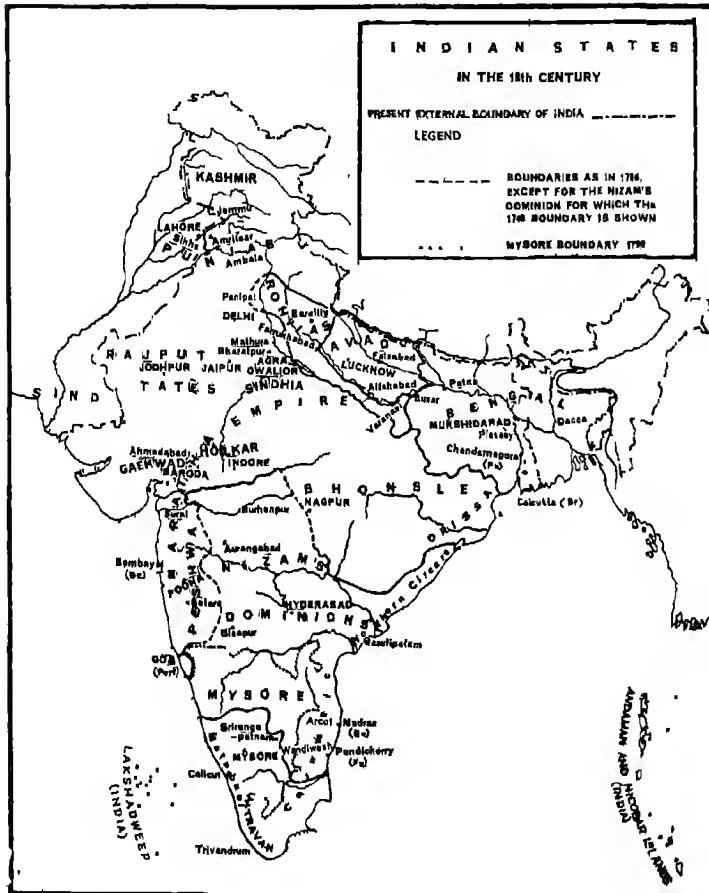
Mohammad Shah reigned for 29 years till 1748. However, the Empire had already started breaking up. The conflicts among the different groups of nobles had weakened the authority of the central government. The real power was usurped by the nobles who started setting up their own authority. Although they continued to pay formal allegiance to the Emperor, they tossed him like a shuttle-cock to suit their convenience. Gradually, several provinces seceded from the empire and semi-independent kingdoms emerged in Bengal, Awadh, Hyderabad and Rohilkhand. In 1739, the Mughal armies were routed by Nadir Shah at Karnal. This was followed by the cruel massacre at Delhi and the plunder of its wealth. The period after Nadir Shah's invasion saw

further disintegration of the Empire. The glory of the Mughal Empire had come to an end. The successors of Mohammad Shah—Ahmad Shah (1748-1754), Alamgir II (1754-1759) and Shah Alam II (1759-1806)—remained Emperors in name only maintaining the memories of the imperial rule that was no more there. In the meantime, the Marathas had emerged as the most important power in the country.

Rise of Independent States

Bengal

Murshid Quli Khan had been the *diwan* of Bengal under Aurangzeb. Farrukhsiyar made him the governor of Bengal. He soon became almost an independent ruler and shifted his capital to a town in central Bengal which he renamed Murshidabad. Murshid Quli Khan and his successor nawabs administered Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as independent rulers though they continued to regularly send revenue to the Mughal emperor. They reorganised the administration of the province and encouraged the growth of agriculture, trade and industry. They dismissed inefficient holders of the *Jagirs* and confiscated the *Jagirs* of rebel officers. A new group of *zamindars*, mainly Hindus, was raised, loyal to the *Nawabs*. They extended cultivation by clearing forests and animal-infested areas and settling new families of land-holders. The revenue was collected regularly and with strictness. Loans were given to poor cultivators but the revenue demand was not decreased. Thus the revenue resources of the province were increased though the peasants were not benefited.



Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

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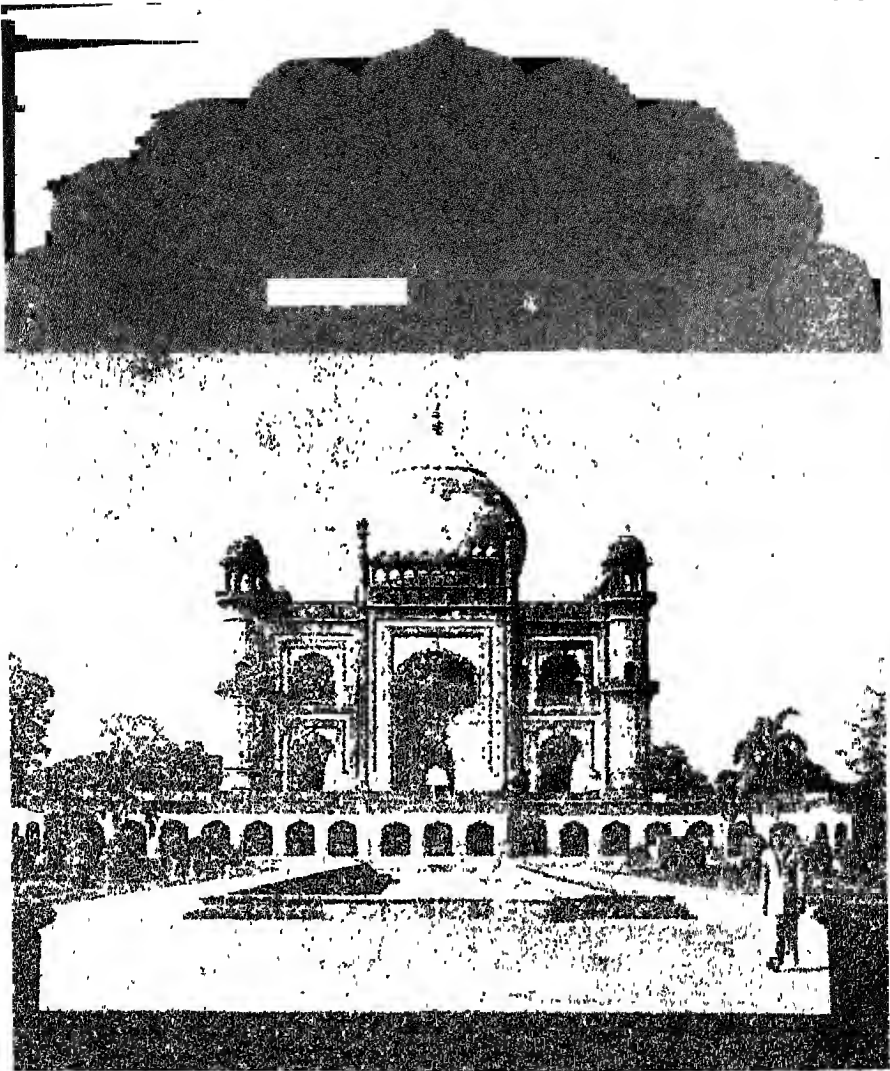
The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

Hyderabad

Chin Qilich Khan had been given the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk and had been made the governor of Deccan. In 1722 he was made the *wazir* but soon afterwards he returned to the Deccan and consolidated his hold over the region. Though he never declared his independence of the Mughal emperor, he governed the Deccan as an independent ruler and founded the Asaf Jahi dynasty. His successors were called the Nizams of Hyderabad.

Awadh

Saadat Khan, a junior Mughal officer of Persian origin, had helped in the overthrow of the Saiyid brothers mentioned above. He was the governor of Awadh in 1722. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Safdar Jang who also became the *wazir* of the Empire for a few years after the death of Mohammad Shah. His dynasty acquired the title of the *Naib-wazir* of Awadh. The rulers of Awadh tried to suppress lawlessness, improve the financial resources of the province and establish a reign of peace and justice. They organised a powerful army which was composed of, besides Muslims and Hindus, *Naga Sannyasis* as well. Their army included a large number of men who fired matchlocks, a primitive type of musket. The authority of the Awadh rulers extended up to Rohilkhand, a territory to the east of Delhi. A large number of Afghans from the mountain ranges (Ruh) of the north-west frontier, called the Rohilas, were settled there. The



Tomb of Safdar Jang, the Nawab of Awadh in Delhi
(Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi)

Rohilla chiefs were trying to carve out independent principalities of their own in the area.

Punjab

North of Delhi, the territories of Lahore and Multan were ruled by the Mughal governor. However, as a result of Nadir Shah's and later, Ahmed Shah Abdali's invasions, their power was destroyed and the Sikhs began to emerge as the supreme political power in the area.

Another power that arose in this period in the region around Delhi, Agra and Mathura was that of the Jats. They founded their State at Bharatpur wherefrom they conducted plundering raids in the regions around and participated in the court intrigues at Delhi.

Economic and Social Life

In other parts of the country also local chiefs began to assert their autonomy. They withheld the payment of revenue to the central authority which also weakened the power of the empire. Within the provinces which had become more or less independent, the local chiefs resisted the power of the provincial rulers who in turn tried to crush them. In establishing their states on firm foundations, the provincial rulers had to guard their borders against the invasions of other rulers and from the rebels within. The peasants were the worst sufferers because the cost of warfare had to be largely borne by them. They had to part with a larger share of their produce than before.

During this period of political conflicts, trade and commerce, however, continued to flourish. Some of the important centres of trade and commerce in this period were Murshidabad and Dacca in Bengal, Hyderabad and Masulipatam in the south, and Faizabad, Banaras, Lucknow and Gorakhpur in Awadh.

The provincial rulers sought to gain the support of Hindu and Muslim officials and chiefs. There was no religious discrimination and recruitment to various offices of the State was done without regard to religion. You have already seen that in the army of the Nawab of Awadh, there were *Naga Sannyasis*. The coming closer of Hindus and Muslims helped in the further growth of a common culture. Indian languages such as Bengali, Marathi, Telugu and Punjabi made good progress and their literature was further enriched. Urdu which had started developing earlier began to be commonly used especially in the towns. It began to develop a rich literature of its own, particularly poetry. Great progress was made in the field of classical music like *khayal* as well as lighter modes of *thumri* and *ghazal* singing. Painting developed in many areas under the influence of the Mughal and Rajput styles, particularly in Kulu, Kangra and Chamba. Thus, in spite of conflicts and wars, cultural progress continued.

Other Indian States

You have read above how the officers of the Mughal Empire carved out independent states for themselves. Simultaneously, many states which had been part of the Mughal Empire asserted their independence and tried to expand their influence.

The Rajputs

The Rajput chiefs from the time of Akbar had provided strong support to the Mughal Empire. Many of them, however, had risen in revolt against Aurangzeb when he tried to interfere with their privilege of inheriting their ancestral lands. After the death of Aurangzeb, they tried to free themselves from the control of the Mughal Empire. They also tried to extend their influence in other parts of the Empire.

However, the rulers of Jodhpur and Amber were made the Mughal governors of Gujarat and Malwa. It appeared for some time that the Rajputs were regaining their position and influence in the Empire and emerging as its major support

A part of the Jantar Mantar, an observatory built by Sawai Raja Jai Singh in Delhi
(Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi)



against the Jats and the Marathas. The most outstanding Rajput ruler in this period was ~~Sawai~~ Raja Jai Singh of Amber (1681-1743). He built the beautiful city of Jaipur and erected astronomical observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Banaras, Ujjain and Mathura.

But the Rajput influence did not last long. They were so involved in their mutual rivalries that they did not have the strength or the capacity to compete for power outside their domains. With the rise in the power of the Jats, the Marathas and the provincial rulers, they lost their *jagirs* outside their own States and their influence began to shrink.



Rajasthani merchants of Calcutta

Though the political influence of the Rajputs declined, the influence of a group of Rajasthanis in the economy of the country increased. These were the merchants who had earlier concentrated on the cross-country trade between the important centres in Gujarat, Delhi and Agra at that time. With the decline of the Empire, the commercial importance of these centres also declined. They shifted to the new centres and began to control the trade and commerce in Bengal, Awadh and Deccan.

The Sikhs

The Sikhs, as you already know, had not been able to found a state during the reign of Aurangzeb even though they had been organised into a fighting group by the tenth and the last Guru—Guru Gobind Singh. After the death of the Guru, the Sikhs found a capable leader in Banda Bahadur. Under his leadership, the Sikhs offered valiant resistance to the Mughals and overran the entire territory between Lahore and Delhi. However, they were defeated and Banda was put to death. But soon the Sikhs reorganised themselves. Following the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Mughal authority in Punjab declined and confusion prevailed as a result of the conflicts between the Afghans and the followers of the Nadir Shah left in the region. Taking advantage of the situation, the Sikhs began to occupy the province step by step. They formed themselves into twelve small groups known as *misls* which were loyal to particular individuals. Though the *misls* owed allegiance to the idea of Sikh

unity, the leaders of the *misl*s parcelled out the territories among themselves. Even Ahmad Shah Abdali was unable to destroy the *misl*s and within two years of his departure, the governors appointed by him at Sirhind and Lahore were driven out. Small principalities like Nabha, Patiala and Kapurthala emerged and the Punjab remained disunited. It was towards the end of the eighteenth century that Maharaja Ranjit Singh united the *misl*s and established a powerful state.

Carnatic and Mysore

Many other new states emerged in the eighteenth century India. Some of these gained prominence in the second half of the century when they became involved in conflicts with the European companies. You will read about them in greater detail in the following chapters.

The *Subah* of Carnatic gradually freed itself from the control of the Mughal governor of the Deccan. You may remember from the earlier part of this chapter that the governor of Deccan had more or less freed himself of the authority of the Mughal Emperor and had founded the Asaf Jahi dynasty of the Nizams in Hyderabad.

In 1761, Hyder Ali who had started his career as an ordinary soldier overthrew the reigning dynasty in Mysore and established his own control over that State. Hyder Ali and his son and successor, Tipu Sultan, were very able rulers. They introduced many important reforms which made Mysore one of the most powerful states in India. For example,

they made use of the modern methods of military training and organisation and established a workshop to produce modern weapons. They also tried to introduce some new industries. In religious matters they were enlightened and broadminded and thus won the loyalty and support of all their subjects. Unlike most other Indian rulers of their time, they were aware of modern developments in the outside world and of the need for introducing them in their states. You will read of their conflict with the British in chapter IV.

Expansion and Decline of the Maratha Power

Shivaji, as you have already read, had founded the Maratha Kingdom during the reign of Aurangzeb. After the death of Aurangzeb, Shivaji's grandson Shahu was released from captivity. In the meantime, Tara Bai, the widow of Raja Ram, had installed her son as a rival king at Kolhapur while Shahu ruled at Satara. Civil war broke out between the supporters of the two competitors for the Maratha Kingdom. The civil war raged for several years and ultimately Shahu's supremacy was firmly established.

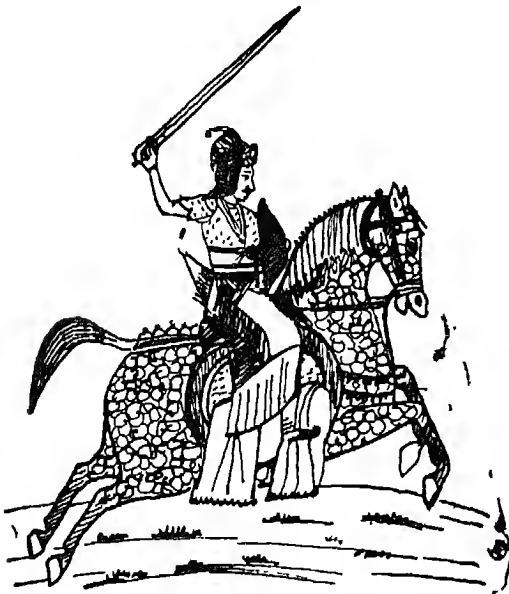
Rise of the Peshwas

Balaji Vishwanath, a Brahman who had started his career as a clerk, contributed greatly to the success of Shahu. He rose to the position of the Peshwa and inaugurated an era of Maratha expansion.

In 1713, Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath entered into a pact with Husain Ali Khan, one of the Saiyid brothers, who was

plotting the overthrow of Farrukhsiyar. You have already read that the Marathas had agreed to pay an annual tribute and maintain a cavalry force in the service of the Empire. In return they secured the right to levy *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in the six provinces of the Deccan, besides getting back all the territories that had formed the kingdom of Shivaji. In 1719, Maratha armies led by the Peshwa accompanied Husain Ali Khan to Delhi and helped him in overthrowing Farrukhsiyar. Thus, helped by the dissensions within the different groups of the Mughal Empire, the Marathas launched out on to the road of establishing their supremacy. For the following four decades,

they remained the dominant power in Indian politics. The office of the Peshwa became the most powerful office and soon eclipsed the authority of the Maratha king.



Peshwa Bajirao I

Balaji Vishwanath was succeeded by his son Bajirao I in 1720. He started the policy of fighting an offensive war against the Nizam and of extending Maratha power in the

north to levy tribute. He conquered Malwa, southern Gujarat and Bundelkhand and conducted raids up to the very gates of Delhi. However, he did not occupy Delhi as the Mughal Emperor still carried considerable prestige. The Maratha raids brought terror to the Mughal provinces and to some extent disrupted the trade and commerce of the rich cities. Also, the raids were not conducted for conquest. The territories raided were not administered by the Marathas. They were primarily interested in laying their hands on a major part of the land revenue of these areas.

Baji Rao I was succeeded by Balaji Baji Rao who continued the forward policy of his father. During his Peshwaship, the Marathas reached as far as Bihar and Orissa in the east and the Punjab in the north. This was the period of the Marathas' maximum expansion.

Weaknesses of the Maratha System

The Maratha power, however, suffered from certain basic weaknesses which were to lead to its downfall. The Marathas were never able to develop a political system which could help them to consolidate their conquests and establish a stable administration. In fact, the policy which helped them to extend their power also brought their ultimate ruin. A fixed charge of the levies like the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* was sent to the Maratha central government at Satara. The rest was retained by the sardars who collected the levies and spent them on building and

maintaining their respective armies. The sardars were formally the representatives of the Peshwa but each of them had built this distinct power over semi-independent principalities. All of them desired to shake off the allegiance they owed to the government at Satara. By the middle of the eighteenth century, five distinct Maratha powers had emerged. These were the Peshwa at Poona, Gaekwad at Baroda, Bhonsle at Nagpur, Holkar at Indore and Sindhia at Gwalior. Whatever unity had existed among them was destroyed soon after the war with Ahmad Shah Abdali.

Because of the nature of their political system the Marathas alienated the sympathies of other people. The raids into the territories of other rulers made those rulers their enemies. The levies charged by them added to the oppression of the common people, particularly peasants and traders. The Third Battle of Panipat (1761 A. D.) exposed their internal weaknesses and the lack of support from other quarters.

The Third Battle of Panipat

Nadir Shah of whom you have read before was murdered by his troops and his conquests in Afghanistan passed into the hands of one of his commanders, Ahmad Shah Abdali. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Durrani dynasty. His raids on the Punjab continued even after his defeat by the Mughal army in 1748.

Meanwhile, the Marathas had begun to extend their influence over Delhi and Punjab. A war between the Marathas and Abdali became inevitable. Besides the Marathas,

powers in the north in this period were the Nawab of Awadh, the Jats, and the Rohillas. The Mughal Emperor did not matter. Abdali was able to gain the support of Awadh and the Rohillas. The Marathas had alienated almost every one and when the decisive battle took place at Panipat in 1761, neither the Rajputs nor the Jats and the Sikhs and nor any other power came to their aid. The Marathas were routed and some of their best commanders and thousands of soldiers were killed. This battle is known in history as the Third Battle of Panipat. The first, as you already know, was fought between Babar and Ibrahim Lodi in 1526 and the second between Hemu and Akbar's armies in 1556.

The consequences of the war with Ahmad Shah Abdali were disastrous for the Marathas. It dealt a severe blow to Maratha supremacy in India, particularly in the northern territories. Whatever unity existed among them was soon dissolved after the war. The Maratha sardars fought against one another and sought the help of other powers in their internal conflicts. For a time, the Marathas recovered some of their lost power but the recovery was shortlived.

In the meantime, vast changes were taking place in the political life of the country with the intervention of European trading companies in the political affairs of the country.

Some Features of Society and Politics

As you have seen in the foregoing section, the political condition of India in the eighteenth century was one of

extreme disunity. With the decline of the Mughal Empire no other Indian power emerged to take its place in strength and prestige, and to unite the country under a central authority. The Marathas who emerged into the position of pre-eminence among the new Indian states did not prove capable of fulfilling that task. Their method of expansion alienated them from other rulers and people. The ruling sections in various states were divided into opposing groups and their mutual rivalries weakened their respective states.

Indian society also presented a picture of disunity. Hindus, as you know, were divided into upper and lower castes and innumerable *jatis*. There was hardly a common cause which would bring all the disparate groups together. Even in day-to-day life, there was little intermingling among different castes and *jatis*. A large number of people were treated badly by the upper castes and were considered 'untouchables'. Within the Muslim community also there were divisions and some groups considered themselves to be superior to the others.

There were many reasons for this lack of unity. You have read in the previous chapter how the economic changes in many countries of Europe led to the rise of nation states. The growth of trade and commerce, and later on the rise of industries had helped to create a common economic life for the people in their respective countries. These changes had made different parts of a country dependent on one another and created conditions in which people living in one part would have a stake in the happenings in other parts. The

middle class of which you have already read tried to do away with all kinds of barriers which stood in the way of the unity of their countries. That is why the people whose countries were divided into many independent states were struggling to unify their countries. They were also fighting to destroy the old forms of government as these stood in the way of unity. They were on the way to establishing democracy in political life which meant equal rights for all citizens of a country, and a government which was formed and run according to the wishes of the people. As early as the seventeenth century, there was a Civil War in England and the king was executed. Though monarchy was restored, the real power passed into the hands of Parliament. The king gradually became a mere titular head. What happened in North America and France in the next century has already been stated in the last chapter:

Many of these factors were absent in India of the eighteenth century. There was much trade with the outside world and inside the country also but it did not very much affect the economic and social life of the people. Each village lived on the things produced in the village itself and had little to do with things produced elsewhere in the country. Thus it was an almost independent economic unit. The revenue which the State took from the village, which was usually very large and more than half of the total produce of the village, was spent in maintaining the huge armies and providing the nobles a life of luxury. The state hardly spent anything from the revenue it collected on improving the life of the people in villages. Change of rulers, rise of new states and

similar other political changes hardly had any effect on the life in villages. Also, there was no middle class comparable to the one that had emerged in Europe. There were, of course, families that had become rich through trade. But the wealth they accumulated was used mainly for giving loans to the nobles and earning interest on the loans rather than on developing new skills, new forms of producing goods and new technology. This meant that in Indian society, such forces had not yet emerged as would have the power and the will to put an end to the political disunity in their own interest.

The rulers of the states in India seemed unaware of the developments taking place in the world. In the political life of India, a new element had entered. The European trading companies, about whose early history in medieval India you have read earlier, were beginning to meddle in the political affairs of this country and were also trying to establish their own political power. The prevailing political condition provided them with the opportunity to do this. However, the rulers of Indian states were unaware of this danger to their own rule. In fact, they were quite willing to become tools of the foreign trading companies, in the hope of advancing their own interests against their rivals. Even before the Marathas suffered defeat at the Third Battle of Panipat, the British conquest of India had begun. In the coming decades it continued, gradually to cover almost the entire country.

EXERCISES

I. Words and Terms :

Chauth : Tax realised by the Marathas from the areas outside their domain, equal to one-fourth of the revenue paid to the Mughal Empire.

Sardeshmukhi : Another tax realised by the Marathas equal to one-tenth of land revenue.

Swarajya : That area of Maharashtra where Shivaji founded his kingdom.

Misl : Political units among the Sikhs, each loyal to its own particular leader.

II. Answer the following questions :

1. What, in your view, were the chief features of the political condition of India in the eighteenth century.
2. Why did the authority of the central government decline after the death of Aurangzeb ?
3. Why were the provincial kingdom always engaged in wars ?
4. Why did the Rajput power decline after the death of Aurangzeb ?
5. What was the impact of the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali on the Mughal Empire and other Indian Powers ?
6. What were the factors because of which the Marathas could not establish a stable empire of their own ?
7. What were the main political divisions among the Marathas ? Name the centre of each of them.

III. Below are given some statements concerning the events that occurred between 1707 and 1761. Put a ✓ mark against the correct statements and a X mark against the wrong ones.

1. The Peshwas were the most powerful leaders among the ✓ Marathas.

- ~~X~~ 2. Bahadur Shah succeeded to the imperial throne peacefully.
- ~~X~~ 3. Nizam-ul-Mulk was overthrown by the Saiyid brothers.
- ~~X~~ 4. None of the provincial governors sent any tribute to Delhi.
- ~~X~~ 5. Soon after the death of Aurangzeb the Sikhs became independent.
- ~~X~~ 6. Nadir Shah was resisted by all the Indian rulers when he invaded India.
- ✓ 7. Businessmen from Rajasthan spread their influence all over the country.
- ✓ 8. Delhi could not regain its prestige after its sack by Nadir Shah.
- ~~X~~ 9. The Marathas were a united power without any serious internal conflicts.

IV. In column 'A' are mentioned the names of some persons and in column 'B' statements about them. Rearrange the statements in column 'B' so as to correspond with the names in column 'A'.

A	B
1. Husain Ali Khan	1. He held the office of the Peshwa.
2. Chin Qilich Khan	2. He was the ruler of Bengal.
3. Baji Rao	3. He was the Nawab of Awadh.
4. Murshid Quli Khan	4. He was the first Nizam of Hyderabad.
5. Safdar Jang	5. He was the ruler of Jaipur.
6. Sawai Raja Jai Singh	6. He was one of the Saiyid brothers.
7. Hyder Ali	7. He was the ruler of Mysore.

V. Things to do :

1. Prepare a list of the provincial kingdoms along with their capitals that arose in the eighteenth century. Show them on a map of India.

2. Visit historical places in your area that may be connected with an Indian kingdom of the eighteenth century. Prepare a report on your visit keeping in view the following : name of the ruler with whom the place is connected; the period of his reign and the main events connected with his reign; type or types of building or buildings; and any other interesting thing about the place.

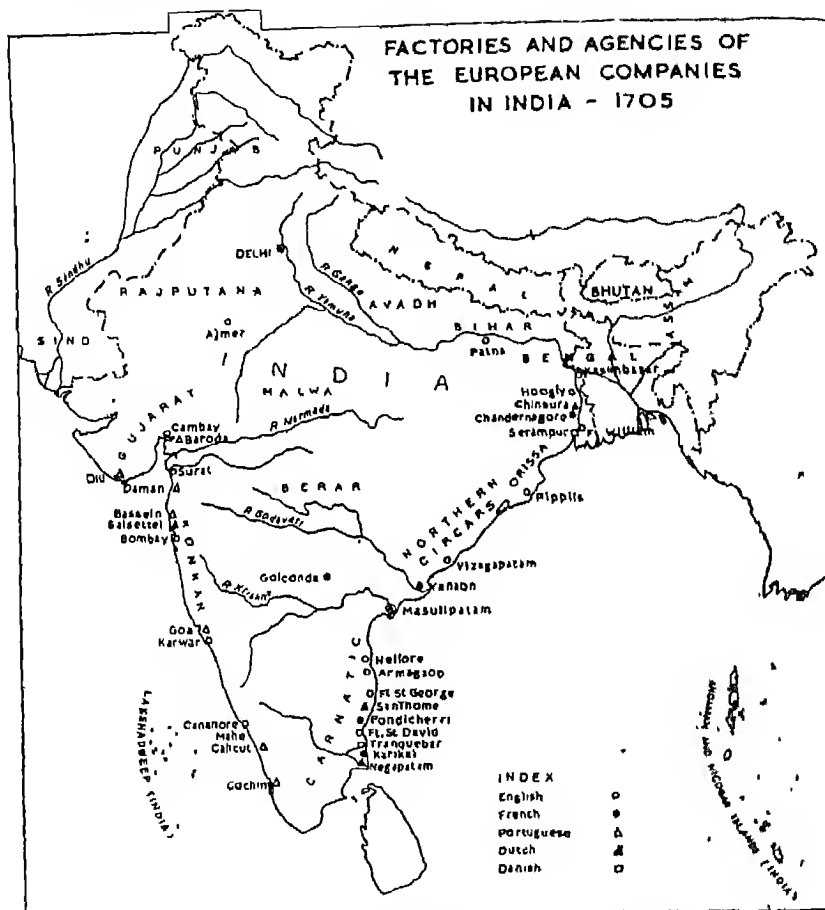
CHAPTER III

The Rise of British Rule

European Trading Companies in India

YOU have read before of the discovery of the sea-route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498 and the formation of trading companies in many European countries for trading with India and other parts of Asia. The individual merchants of a country joined together in a company and the profits which the company made were divided among its shareholders.

The companies of various countries, mainly those of Portugal, Holland, England, France and Denmark, had established their trading centres in different parts of India. These were mostly in coastal areas. These trading centres were called "factories" that is, places where "factors" or officials of the company worked for the purpose of buying and selling. Some of these "factories" were fortified to defend themselves against the armed attacks of their rivals. These companies bought in India spices, cotton textiles prepared on handlooms, indigo which was used for dyeing cloth, saltpetre which was an essential raw material in the manufacture of gunpowder, etc. These things were scarce in Europe and some of them



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Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

The spellings of names appearing on this map have been taken from various sources.

The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

were considered as luxury goods. The companies bought them at cheap prices in India and sold them in Europe and America at very high prices and thus made huge profits. The companies paid for these things in India mainly in gold and silver. The huge profits that the companies made through this trade led to competition, and rivalries among them often ended in violent conflicts. The governments in Europe supported the companies of their respective countries in their conflicts and wars.

By the early eighteenth century, the Portuguese, the Spaniards and the Dutch were ousted by the English and the French from the important position that they had earlier held in the trade between Asia and Europe. The companies of England and France, called the East India Companies, now came to dominate the Indian trade with Europe. They were involved in conflicts with each other as rivals.



Fort William, Calcutta. It was a fortified trading centre of the East India Company

To earn more profits each wanted to purchase more goods at the cheapest possible price. This led each of them to make efforts to control the markets in which they bought the goods and to eliminate the influence of the other. These rivalries led them to wars with each other and also to interfere in the political affairs of India. They started planning the establishment of their political authority to control the trade and eliminate their rivals.

The French had their headquarters at Pondicherry on the south-east coast of India. In that region, the English company had its centre at Fort St. George in Madras, not very far away from Pondicherry. They had another fortified post called Fort William at Calcutta and had also received a *farman* (imperial grant) from Emperor Farrukhsiyar which gave them many concessions. The English were required to pay only a small sum annually in lieu of the duties on goods that they exported from India. They had slowly begun to establish control over the export trade of Bengal from their trading centres and had also established close business connections with the Jagat Seths who were also the bankers of the Nawabs of Bengal.

The Carnatic Wars 1744-1754

The area where the conflict first erupted between the French and the English companies was the Mughal Subah of Carnatic which as you have read before had become nearly independent. Arcot, situated between Madras and Pondicherry, was the capital town of Carnatic. An interesting story

is told by Orme, an early British historian of India who was then an official of the English Company, which reflects the political condition of India of those days. The Nizam had marched to Arcot in 1743 and he was introduced to 18 'Nawabs' in one day. He ordered that the next man to be announced as a Nawab would be flogged as a rascal. In Aurangzeb's time, the Nizam had formed certain norms and standards for conferring titles. At that time Nawabship was conferred only on those who were on high posts. Orme's story brings out the contradiction between the norms and the actual practice. The provincial officers had started distributing the titles indiscriminately. This was the state of affairs in Arcot when it became the centre of Anglo-French rivalries.

The First Phase

In 1740-48, there was a war in Europe which is known as the War of Austrian Succession. In this War, the French took the side of Austria and the English, that of Prussia. Dupleix was then the chief official of the French Company at Pondicherry. He had the ambitious plan of controlling the trade of Carnatic. When the war between England and France broke out in Europe, the naval troops of the two companies looted each other's trade ships. Soon after, the French Governor of Mauritius, an island in the Indian Ocean, sacked Port St. George, and Dupleix ordered that all the people of the English Company should be expelled from there. The Nawab of Carnatic, Anwaruddin Khan, was alarmed at the growing

power of the French in his province and sent an army against them. The Carnatic army was, however, defeated on the banks of the river Adyar near Madras. The result of the battle demonstrated that a small group of disciplined soldiers, regularly paid, using guns newly developed in Europe, could defeat a much larger number of soldiers of the Indian rulers. The latter were indisciplined, irregularly paid and badly equipped. Robert Clive who was taken a clerk in the English Company grasped the significance of this battle and was soon to make use of it to advance the interests of the English Company.

In 1748, peace was restored in Europe following which Madras was restored by the French to the English Company. In the same year, the Nawab of Carnatic was killed while fighting against the French. The Nizam of Hyderabad also died. The French influence was on the increase in the region. They deposed the regular successor and installed Muzaffarjung as the next Nizam. In Carnatic the French raised Chanda Sahib as the Nawab. The English, fearing the rising power of the French, set up Muhammad Ali, son of Anwaruddin, as the Nawab. In 1751, Clive was sent with a small body of troops to install Mohammad Ali at Arcot.

The Second Phase.

The second phase of the Anglo-French conflict began over the question of succession in Carnatic. The two companies set up rival candidates to the Nawabship of Carnatic to protect and advance the interests of their respec-

tive countries. The English gained the support of the Maratha chief of Tanjore who was an enemy of Chanda Sahib. In the war that followed, the French were fully beaten and Chanda Sahib was beheaded. Dupleix was recalled to France and the two companies concluded a peace treaty. Mohammad Ali was recognised by the Nizam as the Nawab of Carnatic.

As a result of the war, the English company replaced the French as the overlords of the Carnatic. There were many reasons for the defeat of the French. After gaining power, the French leaders including Dupleix, were busy making huge fortunes for themselves, thereby weakening the financial position of the French company. The English company was able to enforce stricter discipline on its troops than the French company and give them superior training in the use of weapons. The English were thus able to make better use of the Indian soldiers than the French did.

In spite of their defeat, the French still retained their power and influence in India. Dupleix's successor Bussy was a capable military officer and was able to establish his influence over the local administration in Deccan by the use of superior military force. He was allowed by the Nizam to collect revenue to maintain his army, which in turn helped him to exercise influence over the Nizam. This method of exercising control, that is by making the Indian principality pay to maintain the army which would be used to control the ruler, was followed soon after by the English in Bengal. In the meantime, the scene of conflict shifted to Bengal.

The British Conquest of Bengal

Alivardi Khan became Nawab of Bengal in 1740. He secured the loyalty of the *zamindars* and his Hindu and Muslim officials and was able to give a good government to the people of Bengal. For many years during his reign, Bengal was continuously attacked by the Marathas and ultimately Orissa which formed a part of Bengal province, passed into the hands of the Marathas. Alivardi Khan always followed a policy of keeping European merchants in a position of subordination. He is also said to have cautioned his family against becoming involved with the English merchants.



Siraj-ud-daulah, Nawab
of Bengal

The Battle of Plassey

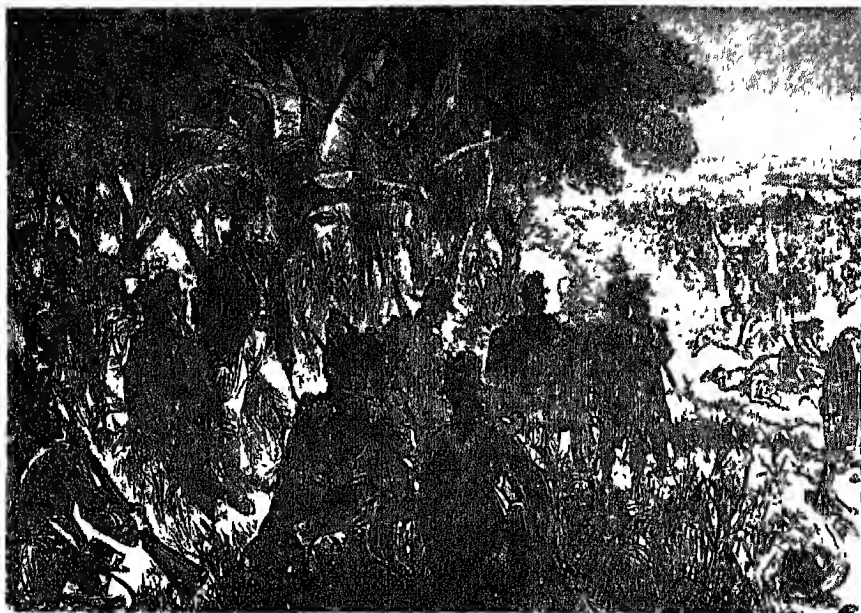
Alivardi Khan was succeeded by his young grandson Siraj-ud-daulah. However, his succession led to intrigues and conflicts among the members of his family. These had become very common after every succession during this period. The intrigues against Siraj-ud-daulah provided an opportunity to the English company to interfere in Bengal politics. They began to extend the fortifications of Calcutta

and refused to surrender the treasures which according to the Nawab, they had embezzled from his treasury at Dacca. The Nawab was probably aware of the happenings in Carnatic and decided to put an end to the danger that the English company presented to his authority.

In 1756, the troops of Siraj-ud-daulah captured Calcutta. Some of the Nawab's soldiers committed atrocities against the English prisoners, many of whom were killed. The Nawab stopped these atrocities as soon as he heard of them.

When the news of the English defeat at Calcutta reached Madras, Clive, supported by a fleet, was sent to recapture Calcutta. The English involved themselves in the intrigues that were taking place against Siraj-ud-daulah. The Jagat Seths who had business connections with the English company, also controlled much of the finances of Bengal. They were unhappy with the Nawab and had decided to support the Nawab's uncle, Mir Jafar, who was also being supported by the English company. Both thought that he would be their puppet.

At this time England and France were involved in another war, called the Seven Years War, in Europe. The French factory at Chandernagar in Bengal, supported Siraj-ud-daulah. However, Clive captured Chandernagar, looted and burnt down the rich town of Hughli and marched on to



Clive at the battle of Plassey

Murshidabad. The battle took place at Palasi (spelt Plassey by the English) in 1757 near Murshidabad. Mir Jafar, commander of one of the wings of the Nawab's army who had already entered into a conspiracy with the English, did not join the battle. The Nawab's army was defeated, and the Nawab himself was captured and brutally put to death. Mir Jafar was made the Nawab and he gave away large sums of money to Clive and other officials of the English company as reward

for their support. This battle marks the beginning of the establishment of British power in Bengal and Bihar.

In Carnatic also where Bussy joined the French troops after withdrawing from Hyderabad, the English defeated the French. They captured Pondicherry which they destroyed. With the end of the Seven Years War in Europe in 1763, Pondicherry was restored to the French. But the French power in South India had been destroyed.

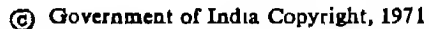
The Puppet Nawabs

After ¹⁷⁶³ Mir Jafar became the Nawab of Bengal with the support of the English company, the English company was able to buy goods at a rate much cheaper than what the Indian traders had to pay. Now they went to the Indian trading towns with the reputation of being the conquerors. They and their Indian agents, who were known as *gomashahs* or *dalals*, forced the peasants and the craftsmen to sell their goods at rates cheaper than the market rates and thus made huge profits. The power and influence of the officials of the English company in Bengal increased and they began to extort large bribes from people who wanted their help in securing favours and promotions from the Nawab. The finances of the State suffered as a result of these extortions and the Nawab did not have enough money to pay his own troops or the troops of the company which kept him in power. Because of these extortions, even the puppet Nawab began to turn against the company but before long, the officials of the company deposed him and installed his son-in-law Mir Qasim as the Nawab of Bengal.

Mir Qasim and the Battle of Buxar

Mir Qasim realised his position of utter dependence on the English company. He tried to consolidate his power to be able to free himself from the stranglehold of the company. He was the last Nawab of Bengal who tried to be independent. To do this, he began by dismissing all of Mir Jafar's officials who were close to the company. He also started building a strong army and secured the services of European mercenaries to train his soldiers in the new methods of warfare. To improve his financial position, he increased the revenue demand on the peasants of Bengal and Bihar. He also replaced many *zamindars* by *ijaradars* who were prepared to pay him large sums of money in advance. These steps were designed to strengthen his independent position. However, he lost the support of the *zamindars* who had been replaced. The peasants also suffered as a result of the increased revenue demand and the oppression of the *ijaradars*. To save the Indian merchants from the oppression of the company and to gain their support, Mir Qasim abolished the custom duties. Now the Indian merchants could trade on the same terms as the company's officials. All these steps, and particularly the last one, angered the English company's officials and they decided to overthrow him.

In the battles that followed in 1763, the Nawab's armies were defeated and he was driven out of Bengal and Bihar. In his anger, he executed many of his officials and the two brothers of the house of Jagat Seths who had betrayed him and



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

had again been intriguing with the British (as the English were now known after a declaration by their King George III). He took refuge with Shuja-ud-daulah who had succeeded Safdar Jang as the Nawab of Awadh. At this time the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam also had taken refuge with the Nawab of Awadh. Shah Alam's father Alamgir II had been murdered and the wazir did not allow Shah Alam to enter Delhi.

The Nawab of Awadh with the two refugees prepared for a battle against the British. In 1764, the two armies met at Buxar in western Bihar. Shuja-ud-daulah was deserted both by Shah Alam and Mir Qasim and his armies were defeated by the British. The battle of Buxar proved itself to be a turning point in the history of India.

In 1765, Shuja-ud-daulah and Shah Alam signed treaties at Allahabad with Clive who had become the Governor of the Company. Under these treaties, the East India Company secured the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which gave them the right to collect revenue from these territories. The Nawab of Awadh ceded Allahabad and Kora or Kara to the Mughal Emperor who began to reside at Allahabad as a puppet under the protection of the British troops. The number of troops the Nawab of Awadh could keep was restricted. The Company promised to defend him against invaders by its own troops, the expenses of which would be borne by the Nawab. The Company agreed to pay Rs. 26 lakhs every year to the Mughal Emperor but they stopped making these payments soon after. Mir Jafar was again made the Nawab of

Bengal and after his death his son was installed as the Nawab. The officials of the Company made huge personal profits by extorting money from the Nawab.

Thus, the British became the real rulers of the rich province of Bengal though formal authority still remained with the Nawab. From their base in eastern India, the British after 1765 began to compete as equals and later on as superiors to the Indian rulers, and the process of the British conquest of India began.

EXERCISES

I. Terms to remember :

Factories : Name by which the trading centres of European Companies in India were known. The name was derived from the English word 'factors' which meant officials of mercantile companies. The places where the 'factors' worked for purposes of buying and selling were called 'factories'.

Ijaradars : Revenue-farmers. Persons who got the right to collect revenue from the peasants of a particular area by entering into a contract with the *jagirdar* of that area whom they paid a fixed sum agreed to in the contract. Often they gave high bids to get the contract and tried to make big profits for themselves. The system of collecting revenue through *ijaradars* became increasingly common in the eighteenth century and added to the oppression of the peasantry.

Diwani : The revenue-collecting department of the state.

II. Answer the following questions :

1. What were the reasons for the conflicts between the English and the French in India in the eighteenth century ?
2. Why was Siraj-ud-daulah so easily defeated by the English ?
3. What was the role of the house of Jagat Seths in the conflict between the English East India Company and the Nawabs of Bengal ?
4. The English Company had installed Mir Qasim as the Nawab of Bengal. Why did they turn against him ?
5. What were the consequences of the Battle of Buxar ?

III. Below are given some statements. Put ✓ mark against the correct statements and × mark against the wrong ones :

- ✓ 1. European traders came to India to sell their goods and take with them gold and silver from here.
- ✓ 2. The English and the French companies went to war against each other in India only when their respective countries in Europe were at war.
- ✓ 3. The European companies started interfering in the political affairs of India to promote their own interests.
- ✗ 4. Mir Qasim became the Nawab of Bengal after the battle of Palasi (Plassey).
- ✓ 5. The Mughal Emperor and the Nawabs of Awadh and Bengal signed treaties at Allahabad with the East India Company.

IV. Arrange the following events in chronological order :

Grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal to English East India Company ;
 Battle of Plassey ; Seven Years War in Europe ; Capture of Chandernagar ;
 Defeat of Anwaruddin at Adyar ; Recall of Dupliex to France ; Battle of
 Buxar ; Death of Siraj-ud-daulah.

V. Things to do :

1. Locate the following places on an outline map of India : Pondicherry, Hyderabad, Madras, Arcot, Calcutta, Buxar, Plassey, Chandernagar. Also indicate in which towns Fort St. George and Fort William were located.
2. On an outline map of India, indicate the territories which came under the influence of the English East India Company.

CHAPTER IV

The Establishment of the British Empire in India

THE Anglo-French Wars in Carnatic and the battles of Plassey and Buxar inaugurated the period of the British conquest of India. The British interest, to begin with, was concentrated in three coastal areas around Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. By 1765, they had become the virtual rulers of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Nawab of Awadh had become dependent on them and so was the Nawab of Carnatic who was their creation. The Marathas, in the meantime, had been able to revive their power after their defeat at Panipat and had advanced northwards. They were the major Indian power that the British had to contend with for over four decades. In the south, besides the Marathas, the powerful Indian states were those of Hyderabad and Mysore.

Extension of British Influence 1765-1785

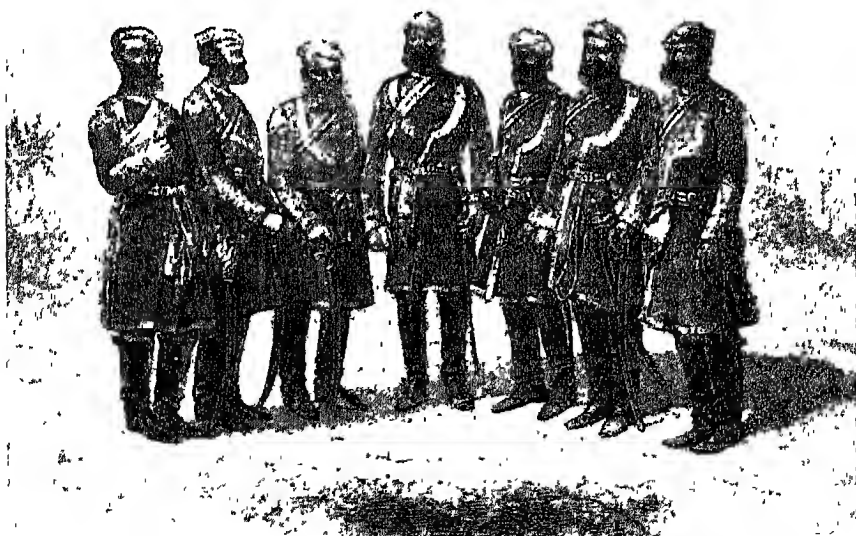
After having won the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the British began to consolidate their rule in these areas. In 1772, Warren Hastings was made the Governor of Bengal and from that year Calcutta became the real capital of Bengal.

In 1773 he became the Governor-General of the British territories in India. In this period the British also got involved in conflicts with Indian rulers.

In 1772, the British signed a treaty with the Nawab of Awadh whose relations with the Rohillas, settled in his domain, had become strained. The British promised to help him against the Rohillas. Benaras had been made autonomous earlier and its autonomy under Raja Chait Singh was confirmed. In 1774, the troops of Awadh and the British defeated the Rohillas but soon after one of the Rohilla chiefs was accepted as the Nawab of the small territory of Rampur.

War with the Marathas

From 1775 to 1782, the British were at war against the



Indian soldiers of the East India Company

Marathas. To mobilise support for this war, Hastings attacked Chait Singh when he refused to pay the heavy demands made on him. A new ruler, more ready to serve British interests, was installed at Benaras. Warren Hastings also forcibly took the personal treasures of the Begums of Awadh with the help of the new Nawab of Awadh.

The war with the Marathas, known as the First Anglo-Maratha War, had started when the British supported the claims of Raghunath Rao to the Peshwaship. Most of the Maratha chiefs at this time, including the most powerful Mahadaji Sindhia, were united behind the young Peshwa and the Maratha leader Nana Phadnavis. The War was indecisive and ended in 1782.

The Mysore War

In the meantime, the British were involved in a war with Mysore which had grown into a powerful state under Hyder Ali. In 1769, the first Anglo-Mysore war ended when the British troops were defeated. Peace was signed and both the parties agreed to help each other in case of an attack by a third power. However, when the Marathas attacked Mysore, the British did not give any aid to the latter. This embittered the ruler of Mysore and for the next 30 years, Hyder Ali and later his son Tipu Sultan, remained hostile to the British and were frequently at war with them. The American War of Independence had begun and France was aiding the American colonies which were fighting with the British. Thus Britain and France were at war at this time and France had offered help to the Marathas. The British in retaliation occupied the French port of Mahe which was Mysore's only outlet to

European trade. Hyder Ali attacked the British in 1780 and he was supported by some French troops under Bussy. In 1782, the British war with the Marathas had ended. Next year, Britain and France had concluded a peace treaty and the French support to Mysore was withdrawn. In 1782, Hyder Ali died but his son Tipu Sultan carried on the war. The Second Anglo-Mysore War ended in 1784 and the position that existed before the war was restored.

Thus in the period from 1765 to 1785, the British failed to expand their territories in India. However, they were able to extend their political influence. In the war against the Marathas they had succeeded in gaining the neutrality of the Bhonsle of Nagpur. They had also secured the neutrality of the Nizam in their war with the Marathas and Mysore. The combined



Tipu Sultan

strength of the Marathas, the Nizam and Mysore would have succeeded in defeating the British but the British were able to keep alive the differences among the Indian rulers. They were able to extend their influence up

to the Yamuna in the west, in Hyderabad and far into the south.

The Policy of Non-intervention 1785-97

After the defeat of Britain in the American War of Independence, there was a lot of opposition in Britain to the policies practised by the East India Company in India. The British government decided that they should not interfere in the mutual disputes of Indian rulers. The British Parliament also passed an Act which laid down a system of government for the British territories in India. When Warren Hastings returned to England after having made a huge personal fortune, he was subjected to a trial by Parliament, known as an 'Impeachment' for committing atrocities against Indians and for taking bribes from Indian rulers. Although he was acquitted, the manner in which he had functioned in India was given up for many years by his successors.

In 1786, Cornwallis who had fought in the War of American Independence, became the Governor-General. Initially, he followed the policy of non-intervention. The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam was attacked by the Rohillas who blinded him. Later he came under the control of the Maratha chief Mahadaji Sindhia. The Marathas under Nana Phadnavis, who was the Peshwa's Minister, resumed their attacks against the Nizam. The Gurkha hillmen in Nepal had become very powerful and the Burmese kingdom had also extended its influence into the north-eastern regions of

India. There was also a danger of an Afghan invasion in Punjab. Cornwallis, however, refused to interfere in these areas.

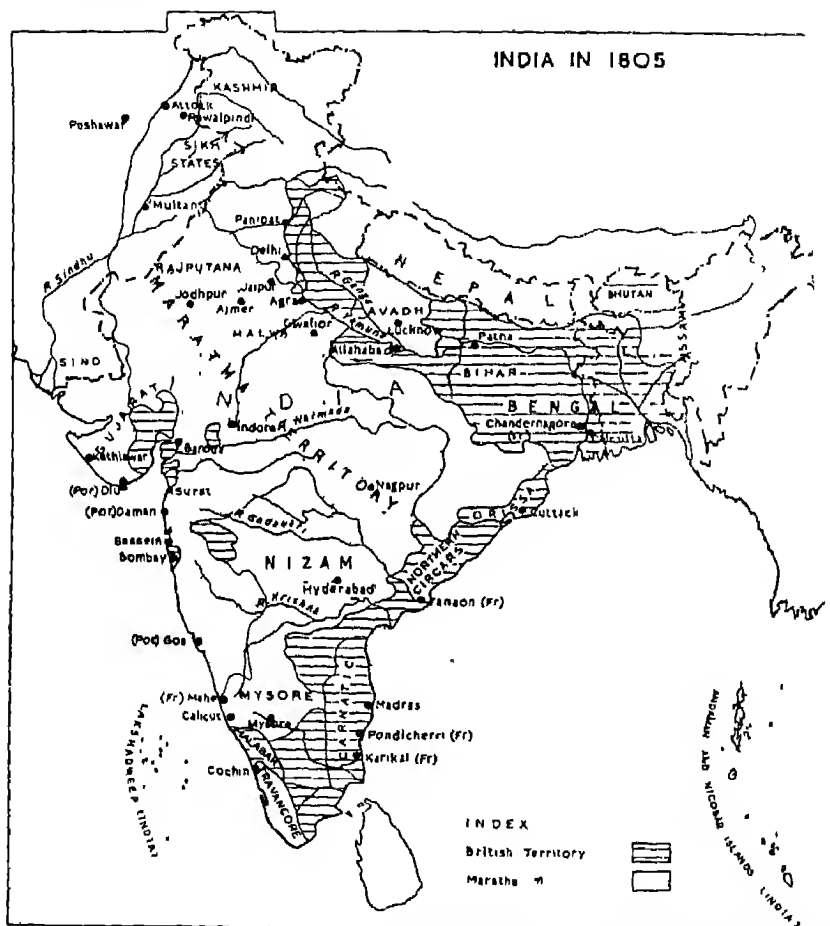
The Third Anglo-Mysore War

The policy of non-intervention was, however, given up in the case of Mysore. Tipu Sultan had attacked the kingdoms of Coorg and Travancore. The British regarded Tipu as the chief danger to their power in the south. Their old hostility towards him led to the Third Anglo-Mysore War. Tipu suffered a defeat and he had to cede large parts of his territories to the British.

Thus, the British did not stick to the policy of non-intervention whenever it did not suit their interests. This policy was continued by Cornwallis's successors. Thus, when the Marathas defeated the Nizam and levied *chauth* in his territories, the British did not come to the aid of Nizam whom they had earlier promised to help. However, when in 1797, the successor to the Nawab of Awadh chosen by them was opposed, the British crushed the opposition. This period was in fact utilized mainly to consolidate the territories they had already conquered and thus to prepare themselves for the next phase of expansion.

British Expansion from 1798-1809

Wellesley was appointed the Governor-General in 1798 and he started a new wave of expansion. It may be mentioned here that the Revolution of 1789 in France, with its declared



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Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India.

The spellings of names appearing on this map have been taken from various sources.

The territorial water of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity of all citizens and peoples, had turned other European powers hostile to France. From 1792, Britain was engaged in war with Revolutionary France. The British felt their position in India endangered when French armies led by Napoleon Bonaparte sailed for Egypt. The French were also trying to influence the Nizam. Tipu Sultan showed open sympathy for the French Revolution and was trying to secure French help for driving the British out of India. However, the two major Indian powers had been weakened, Mysore after their defeat in the third Anglo-Mysore war and the Marathas due to their internal intrigues and wars.

Subsidiary System

Besides conquests, Wellesley revived Warren Hastings' policy of extending influence by giving military help to one Indian state against another. This policy was developed further by Wellesley to make the British influence more permanent. An Indian ruler accepting the 'subsidiary alliance' with the British was now made to keep a large British force within his territory and pay for its maintenance. In lieu of this payment, sometimes a part of the ruler's territory was ceded to the British. Usually, the Indian ruler was also forced to have a British official called the Resident at his court. This system gave the Indian ruler a sense of security against other rulers but in effect it meant loss of his independence.

The first subsidiary alliance was signed with the Nizam, followed by one with the Nawab of Awadh. Both the rulers ceded parts of their territories to the British.



Defeat of Tipu Sultan

In 1799, Tipu Sultan was defeated. The British feared that French troops might land in support of Tipu who had hoisted the flag of the French Revolution. But the French support never came. Tipu was killed fighting and thus his lifelong resistance to the British came to an end. The Raja whose dynasty Hyder Ali had overthrown was reinstated to the throne of Mysore. But under the treaty signed by him with the British, he was made completely dependent upon them. Carnatic was also taken over by the British and the Nawab was granted a pension.

Relation with the Marathas

Wellesley next turned his attention to breaking the power of the Marathas. The internal conflicts among the Marathas had never ceased. Mahadaji Sindhia and Nana Phadnavis were capable leaders and had been able to sustain Maratha power in spite of dissensions. However, after their death, the conditions fast deteriorated. In 1801-02, there was a war between the Holkar and the Sindhia. The young Peshwa Baji Rao II sought the protection of the British and entered into a subsidiary alliance with them by the Treaty of Bassein in 1803. British troops occupied Poona, the capital of the Peshwas and drove out the Holkar, who had earlier occupied it. The Sindhia and the Bhonsle now combined but it was too late. The Maratha armies were defeated both in the south and in the north. Delhi was taken by the British from the control of the Sindhia and the blind Emperor Shah Alam

finally passed into their custody. The Bhonsle and the Sindhia signed treaties with the British and ceded large territories to them. They agreed to the terms of the subsidiary system and thus British forces and Residents were posted within the Maratha principalities. But factional struggles amongst the Marathas continued and were further accentuated by the interference of British Residents. Thus, the British began to establish their influence over each of the Maratha states.

Holkar was still holding out when Wellesley was recalled. The Company in London did not favour so much expenditure on wars and expansion as this would cut down their profits. Peace was therefore signed with Holkar. Throughout these wars, the state founded by Ranjit Singh was able to maintain its independence and strengthen itself. For some years after Wellesley, the British more or less halted their expansion and tried to consolidate their power. However, soon another phase of expansion had started.

British Expansion from 1809 to 1848

The wars between England and France which had started soon after the outbreak of the French Revolution were still going on when Minto was sent as the Governor-General to India. He was instructed to safeguard the British conquests in India, both in the north-west and the south-east. This led to the further expansion of British power in India and the neighbouring countries. Java and Sumatra which were under Dutch occupation were conquered by the British.

Though these islands were restored to the Dutch after the defeat of France in 1815, the British occupied Singapore and expanded into Sarawak, in the Malay peninsula. These conquests helped the British to control the south-east Asian trade and laid the foundations of Britain's naval supremacy in this region.

The British also tried to extend their influence in Afghanistan, Persia and in the north-western region of India. They succeeded in extending their power up to the river Sutlej and in restricting Ranjit Singh's expansion to the east of that river.

The next Governor-General, Marquess of Hastings (not to be confused with Warren Hastings) waged a war against the Gurkha power in Nepal. The Nepalese were defeated and had to cede territories to the British. A British Resident was also posted at Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal.

In the early years of the nineteenth century bands of plunderers, called the Pindaris, had emerged and were carrying on their raids in many parts of the country. Many soldiers, who had been disbanded when Indian rulers entered into subsidiary alliance with the British, had also joined the Pindaris. The British decided to use the Maratha armies against the Pindaris but many Maratha leaders were helping the Pindaris. Soon the war against the Pindaris turned into the Third Anglo-Maratha War (A.D. 1817). The Pindaris were defeated and one of them was made the Nawab of a small state in eastern Rajasthan called Tonk. The Third Anglo-Maratha War was a total disaster for the Marathas. The

Peshwa was exiled to north India on a pension. After his death his son Nana Sahib continued to press his claims for the privileges enjoyed by the Peshwa. Within a few years, the territories of the Peshwa became a part of the British areas in western India. Other Maratha chiefs also lost most of their territories and their armies were disbanded. They were all reduced to a very subordinate position under British Residents. Soon after, the Rajput states were also brought under British influence when the subsidiary system was extended to them.

Burma, Afghanistan and Sindh

From 1824 to 1826, the British fought a war against the Burmese empire. The Burmese had been extending their influence over Assam. After their defeat, Assam passed into the control of Britain and Burma was forced to open herself to British trade and admit a British Resident.

The only area which the British attacked but failed to conquer was Afghanistan. The British were beginning to fear a Russian attack on British territories in India through Persia and Afghanistan. They sent troops to dislodge Dost Muhammad, the ruler of Afghanistan, from power. In this they failed miserably. The Afghans were able to retain their independence and the dynasty of Dost Muhammad remained in power till 1929.

The British had established their influence in Sindh. The Amirs of Sindh had entered into a subsidiary alliance

with them. In 1843, however, Sindh was conquered and annexed to the British empire.

Punjab under Ranjit Singh

The only major Indian power that still retained its independence was Punjab under Ranjit Singh. You have read before that after the death of Banda, the Sikhs were organised into *misl*s and that these *misl*s had real authority in Punjab. Ranjit Singh had come to power in 1792 in a minor *misl*. He organised an alliance of the Sikh *misl*s west of the Sutlej in 1798 and was successful in repelling the invasion of the Afghan ruler Zaman Shah. This success made him a powerful ruler and in 1801, these *misl*s accepted him as the Maharaja of Punjab. He was soon able to extend his power to vast territories including Peshawar, Multan, Kashmir, Kangra and other hill states. He had built a strong army and had secured the services of Europeans for organising and equipping it on modern lines. He also tried to give good government to the people of Punjab and in this he had the complete loyalty and support of his Hindu, Muslim and Sikh officers who were recruited irrespective of their religion. Because of his strength, Ranjit Singh had won the respect of the British in India. The British signed a treaty of friendship with him in 1809. However, after the Maharaja's death in 1839, the situation changed.

Annexation of Punjab

Even during Ranjit Singh's lifetime, the expansion of his kingdom had been restricted by the British. The Sikh

states to the east of Sutlej had come under British influence. The British had also started extending their control over Sindh, which they annexed in 1843. The British interest in Afghanistan had also increased. Under the circumstances it was inevitable that they would come in clash with the powerful state of Punjab.



A Sikh soldier

Death of Ranjit Singh was followed by political instability in Punjab. The Sikh elements in the army known as the Khalsa became supreme and began to interfere in the affairs of the state. There were group rivalries and the Khalsa took the role of king makers. The British started

mobilizing their forces on the frontiers of Punjab. Dalip Singh, Ranjit Singh's son, had succeeded him but the state was ruled by his mother Rani Jindan with the help of her favourite officers. They, on the one hand, intrigued with the British and on the other incited the Khalsa to attack the British. In 1845, the First Anglo-Sikh War started which ended in the defeat of the Khalsa. Punjab was placed under British protection though Dalip Singh retained his throne. The British made Gulab Singh the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. They also appointed Sikh and British officials to run the administration of Punjab.

In 1848, there were numerous revolts against the British in Punjab and the Second Anglo-Sikh War followed. The Punjab armies fought bravely but were defeated. Punjab was annexed by the British. Thus the powerful state built by Ranjit Singh came to an end.

The Establishment of British Paramountcy 1848-1856

Punjab had been annexed when Dalhousie became the Governor-General. He tried to consolidate the British conquests in India and to extend its borders. Using Punjab as a base, the British extended their control to Peshawar and the territories of the Pathan tribes on the north-west. Under his successor Canning, the British went to war against Persia to gain the friendship of Afghanistan and to control the Persian Gulf region. However, the outbreak of the revolt of 1857 in India saved the integrity of Persia. Dalhousie also annexed a large part of Burma to the British territories in India.

Thus by about 1856, the British conquest of India was complete and British Empire in India was firmly established. Large parts of the country were under direct British rule. There were many areas which were nominally under Indian rulers, but these rulers were completely dependent on the British. The old political order was destroyed and with it had ended the types of rivalries and conflicts that India had witnessed in the eighteenth century. The British emerged as the paramount power in India. /

Subsidiary System and the Doctrine of Lapse

The British paramountcy was established by two main methods—by direct annexation and by bringing the Indian states within the subsidiary system which often led to annexation. Mysore and Sindh were examples of outright annexation. However, the latter method was more frequently followed. It had many advantages. The Indian rulers paid for the maintenance of British troops and the British did not have to take any responsibility with regard to administration or the problems of law and order within that state. Under this system, the people of the dependent states suffered even more. Assured of British military support so long as they paid the British, the Indian rulers did not pay any attention to the administration of their states. Peasants were taxed heavily to pay for the increased expenditure on armed forces. Local officials and landlords also made fortunes through extortions. These led to financial crisis and breakdown of law and order. When this happened in a state, the British annexed it. Thus the subsidiary system created conditions for later annexations.

Other excuses for annexation were also found out by the British. One such policy, which came to be known as the 'Doctrine of Lapse', became very common during the time when Dalhousie was the Governor-General (1848-56). According to the old Indian custom, if a person did not have a son, he adopted a near relative of his or of his wife as his son who became his successor. When the Indian rulers became dependent on the British, the British had acquired the right to sanction or refuse such an adoption. In case of

refusal, the territory of ruler who had no son was annexed by the British. Many such annexations had taken place even before Dalhousie became the Governor-General.

During Dalhousie's tenure when many rulers of dependent Indian states died without leaving a male heir, this policy was strictly applied and their states were annexed by the British. These included Jhansi, Nagpur and Satara. The adopted son of the Peshwa, Nana Sahib, was refused the pension which the Peshwa had been receiving. Similarly, after the death of the Nawab of Carnatic, his relative did not receive the pension which the British had been paying to the Nawab. This policy, created widespread fear among all Indian rulers that their dynasties would come to an end if they died childless.

The fears of the Indian rulers were aggravated by the deposition of Wajid Ali Shah, the last Nawab of Awadh, in 1856. He was forced to abdicate and kept in Calcutta and his state was annexed. The peasantry of Awadh was heavily taxed. The British officials also started probing into the land rights of the nobles of Awadh and this created further discontent.

Thus as the British power reached its height, discontent against them also grew which soon broke out into the great revolt of 1857. In the meantime, the British had established a new administrative system and many changes had taken place in Indian economy, society and culture as a

consequence of British rule. Before we turn to study these developments; it may be useful to see why the old political order in India collapsed.

Causes of the Defeat of Indian States

As you have seen in Chapter II, the states that were annexed by the British had all emerged as a result of the break-up of the Mughal Empire. Even though these states were practically independent, they maintained the fiction of the sovereignty of the Mughal Empire. This was demolished when the British took possession of Delhi. But the new states that had arisen had little in common with one another. Each was eager to expand itself at the expense of other. This absence of unity made them an easy prey to the British East India Company. The officials of the Company were united in purpose and even their farthest-outposts were under a united command. This unified control made them from 1757 onwards a central force in the political affairs of India.

This central force, however, was victorious only when internal weaknesses within a state became acute. Thus, as conditions of disunity emerged in a state, it lost its independence. These conditions were also created by the British. You have seen the importance of this factor in Bengal in the previous chapter. This was the policy of 'divide and rule', and the British officials practised it with great efficiency and success in relation to other states.

The policy of 'divide and rule' though an important immediate cause, was not the basic cause of the collapse of Indian states. The real cause lay in the incapacity of Indian rulers to devise a stable and efficient political order, which could retain the loyalty of the subjects. The Indian states could not even be an alternative to the dying Mughal Empire. The case of the Marathas makes it clear. They had recovered from their military disaster at Panipat to the extent that in the 1770's they were considered the only enemy the British had in India. But the leaders of the Maratha armies were in constant conflict with one another, making it easier for the British to defeat them one after another. In Punjab, Ranjit Singh built a powerful state and kept the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs together in amity. But he could not build a system which could outlive him. His kingdom fell apart soon after his death, making the British policy of 'divide and rule' easier to succeed. The internal weaknesses and the fear of attack by more powerful neighbours made the rulers of many states such as Hyderabad to seek the protection of the British which they offered through the subsidiary system.

These weaknesses of the Indian states were further aggravated by the backwardness of their economy and technology. This backwardness became an increasingly important factor when the Industrial Revolution took place in England. In Warren Hastings' time, the Mysore or the Maratha armies were an equal match for the Company's armies. However, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the British armies had bet-

ter artillery. The Industrial Revolution vastly had added to the British superiority. Trade and industry grew, and the development and use of mechanical power became possible. As a result the entire social and economic system of Britain was transformed, greatly increasing its power in the world. In the face of rising strength of Britain, it would not have been easy to resist the growth of British Empire in India. The Indian states with their mutual conflicts and internal weaknesses, however, made the British task easier. By 1856, the subjugation of India was complete.

EXERCISES

I. *Terms to remember :*

Subsidiary System : A system of alliances introduced by the British Governor-General Wellesley through which the British came to control the affairs of the Indian States entering into the alliance without actually annexing them.

Doctrine of Lapse : The Doctrine which was used by the British Government in India to annex the territories of Indian rulers who died without leaving any natural successors.

II. *Answer the following questions :*

1. What was the political condition of India in 1772 when Warren Hastings became the governor ?
2. What did the British policy of non-intervention in India mean ? Why did the British occasionally follow this policy ?
3. Why and under what condition did the Indian rulers enter into the subsidiary alliance with the British ?
4. Describe the course of the conflict between the British and the kings of Mysore.

5. Describe the main stages in the conquest of the territories of the Marathas by the British.
6. What were the main changes in the political history of the Punjab from the end of the eighteenth century to 1849 ?
7. Explain the different methods by which the British established and expanded their empire in India.

III. Given below are statements which describe some important events which took place between 1765 and 1856. Against these statements put

- | | |
|---|---|
| A | if the event took place during the period of Warren Hastings; |
| B | " " " " " Wellesley; |
| C | " " " " " Cornwallis; |
| D | " " " " " Lord Hastings; |
| E | " " " " " Dalhousie. |

1. The Third Anglo-Mysore War
2. The First Anglo-Mysore War
3. Defeat and Death of Tipu Sultan
4. War against the Pindaris
5. The Treaty of Bassein
6. War against the Rohillas
7. The Second Anglo-Sikh War
8. Annexation of Awadh.

IV. Things to do :

1. The British annexed certain territories to their empire in India. They controlled certain other territories indirectly through the subsidiary alliances with Indian States.

Make a list of the areas that were under direct British rule in 1818 and those that were under their indirect control. Show these areas on an outline map of India by shading the two types of areas in different colours.

CHAPTER V

The Administrative Structure

YOU have seen above that it took less than a hundred years for the British to become the masters of the whole of India. Gaining a foothold in Bengal in 1757 they continued their territorial expansion steadily. With the annexation of Punjab, the British became the supreme force in our country. In these conquests the army of the East India Company played the major role. It also guarded the British hold over India with equal success.

The Indian sepoys formed the bulk of the Company's army whose size grew along with the British expansion. The sepoys totalled about 200,000 by the time the conquest of India had been completed. It was not difficult for the Company to raise a disciplined and loyal army for which they arranged regular payment of salaries and a thorough training in the use of the latest arms. The soldiers engaged by the Indian rulers did not usually have these facilities. Moreover, one success after another had won for the Company's army considerable amount of prestige which attracted many recruits to it. But all the officers of this army were

Europeans. A section of the royal regiments of Britain was also stationed in India.

Though the Company's Indian troops earned the reputation of being very efficient, they remained just mercenary soldiers of a colonial power. They did not have the pride that excites soldiers of a national army nor were many avenues of promotion open to them. These factors sometimes provoked them to revolt. The greatest of these revolts took place in 1857 of which you will read in Chapter 7.

But how did the British govern the Indian territories conquered by this army? New systems of administration were introduced by the Company's officials and for this purpose certain check and guidance from the British government in London often became necessary.

Misrule by Company's Officials

The commercial officials of the Company were the earliest British administrative officials also and in the beginning their job was to collect revenue and do a few other civic duties. You read in the last chapter that the Company had taken upon itself these responsibilities after the Battle of Buxar when the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam had granted to the Company the *Diwani* i. e., the right to collect and administer the revenue of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in lieu of a yearly tribute of 26 lakhs of rupees. Unfortunately the officials made a mess of this job. They were ignorant of the problems and methods of Indian administration. But more disastrous was their immense greed for money. For making

the Company richer as well as for building up their personal fortunes the officials practically plundered Bengal and brought it on the verge of ruin. From peasants and zamindars they demanded much more revenue than they could afford to pay. As merchants of the Company they also forced the local petty traders and artisans to sell such commodities as grain and linen at cheap prices. Because of these reasons the people in the countryside began to look upon the new revenue collector as a kind of terror imported from outside.

Taking advantage of their position the Company's officials amassed private wealth. On their retirement, when they went back to Britain, they used to spend so lavishly on luxuries that they were nicknamed as "Nabobs". In India the condition of the common people grew more and more wretched. That they could not save anything to live by in times of distress was very sadly proved in 1770-71 when there was a famine due to the failure of rains. Almost one-third of the population of Bengal was starved to death. But a section of Indians who acted as agents of the Company in administration and business became fairly affluent. The Seths of Calcutta and Murshidabad who lent money to the Company's officials and the people who helped the Company in realising revenue made fortunes for themselves.

The Regulating Act

The chaotic situation brought about by the misgovernment of Bengal roused the public opinion in Britain which forced the British Parliament to enquire into the affairs of the East India Company. This revealed gross malpractices of

the senior officials of the Company who had completely ignored the welfare of the Indian people. The Company was also facing a financial crisis at this time and had applied to the British Government for a loan of one million pounds. The later found it necessary to regulate the activities of the Company in India and for this the Regulating Act of 1773 was passed. This was the first direct interference made by the British Government in the affairs of India. Its purpose was to take a step towards removing the political power from the hands of a trading Company. The Company's Directors were asked to lay before the British Government all correspondence and documents regarding the civil, military and revenue affairs of the Company.

The Act also provided specific measures to set up a new administrative framework. The president of the Company's Calcutta factory, who used to be the Governor of Bengal, was made the Governor-General of all the Indian territories of the Company. He was to have a Council of four members, three of whom would be persons not connected with the Company. For dispensation of justice to Company's officials and their employees, the Act proposed to set up a Supreme Court at Calcutta which was done in 1774. To stop the Company's officials from making extra money and property there was a provision in the Act which required every official to submit to his employers on his return to England a list of his properties and an explanation on how they were acquired. The defects of the Regulating Act became clear very soon. There were constant quarrels between Warren Hastings,

the first Governor-General, and the members of his Council which often blocked smooth working of the administration. The Supreme Court also could not function smoothly as its jurisdiction, and its relations with the Council were not clear. It was also not clear which law—Indian or English—it was to follow. This court had sentenced to death an ex-*diwan* of Murshidabad, Maharaja Nand Kumar, a brahman by caste, who was charged with committing forgery. Capital punishment for forgery had the sanction of British law at that time. But in India a brahman could not be sentenced to death for such an offence. This matter created much sensation in Bengal. Moreover, the control of the British Government over the Company remained fairly vague even after the enactment of the Regulating Act.

Pitt's India Act

To remove the drawbacks mentioned above and to make the administration of the Company's Indian territories efficient and responsible, a series of enquiries were made and measures were taken by the British Parliament during the next decade. Of these the most important one was the Pitt's India Act of 1784, named after William Pitt the Younger, the Prime Minister of Britain at that time. This Act set up a Board of Control in Britain through which the British Government could fully control the Company's civil, military and revenue affairs in India. The Company, however, continued to have the monopoly of trade and the right to appoint and dismiss its own officials. Thus a system of dual government of British

India by the British Government and the Company was set up and this continued up to 1858. This and a few supplementary Acts which followed shortly afterwards made the hands of the Governor-General increasingly strong for administering India. He was given the power to overrule his Council on important matters. Presidencies of Bombay and Madras were brought under his authority and he was made the Commander-in-Chief of all the British troops in India, both of the Company and of the Crown.

The principles laid down by the Act of 1784 formed the base of the British administration in India. From now on the Governor-General became, in fact, the real ruler of India functioning under the over-all control of the British Parliament. The agencies through which the Governor-General exercised his power and responsibility were the army, the police, the civil services and the judiciary. Their respective roles were to protect and enlarge the British territories in India, to maintain internal order, to collect revenue, to look after the general administration and to dispense justice to the people.

Police

One of the provisions of the Pitt's India Act was that the British would not pursue a policy of conquests in India. From the wide expansion of the Company's territories about which you have read in Chapter 4, it becomes clear that the British Government never meant to observe it seriously. Fresh conquests were necessary to serve the economic interests of Britain, i. e. wider market for the finished goods

coming out of factories and finding new sources for collecting raw materials, as has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. It was for these interests again that they were keen on establishing law and order in their conquered territories as early as possible. The composition of the army has already been discussed. Subsidiary to the army was the police force. During the time of Lord Cornwallis this force got a regular shape. In 1791, a Superintendent of Police for Calcutta was appointed and soon other cities were placed in the charge of *kotwals*. The districts were divided into *thanas* and each *thana* was put under the charge of *daroga*. The hereditary village policemen became *chowkidars*. Later the post of a District Superintendent of Police was created. Though the police played a vital role in maintaining law and order, particularly by putting down murder and robbery, they never became popular. Instead, for their exacting habits and proneness to harass the common people, the police earned much notoriety. Though the police became the symbol of the Government's authority throughout the length and breadth of the country, their lowest ranks were very poorly paid. As in the army, here also, only the Europeans were eligible for higher posts.

Organization of the Civil Service

The "steel-frame" of the British administration was its civil service. The miserable failure of the Company's commercial officials to do administrative jobs because of their corrupt practices forced Clive and Warren Hastings to adopt some corrective measures. But it was Cornwallis who was the real

founder of the British civil service in India. He separated the commercial and revenue branches of administration, banned acceptance of presents by the administrative staff and arranged for paying them handsome salaries. In course of time the members of this civil service became the highest paid civilians in the world.

Because of the influential position and high salary that the civil service guaranteed, a placement there was very much coveted by the young members of the British aristocratic families. For a long time one could enter the civil service only through nomination by the Directors of the Company. This allowed a few British families having good connections to dominate the Company's civil services. The nomination system continued up to 1853 when a system of open competition through examination was introduced.

However, neither Cornwallis nor the Governors-General who succeeded him allowed Indians to be members of the civil service. In fact in 1793 a rule was made that no Indian would be eligible for administrative posts carrying £ 500 or above as salary. Similar restrictions against Indians were applied in the case of many other highly paid jobs including those in judiciary and engineering. By this time not only the East India Company but all influential sections of British society wanted to benefit from their country's domination over India. They did not like to have Indians as their competitors. Besides, the British administrator had a low opinion about the capability of the Indians.

As the responsibilities of the administration grew, the need was felt for people in the civil services who were specially trained in Indian affairs—the systems of government, social conditions, languages and the traditions prevalent here. A close acquaintance with these helped the administrators to work efficiently. To train the young recruits to the civil services in these matters, the College of Fort William was started in Calcutta in 1801. Later on, for the same purpose, the East India College was established at Haileybury in England.

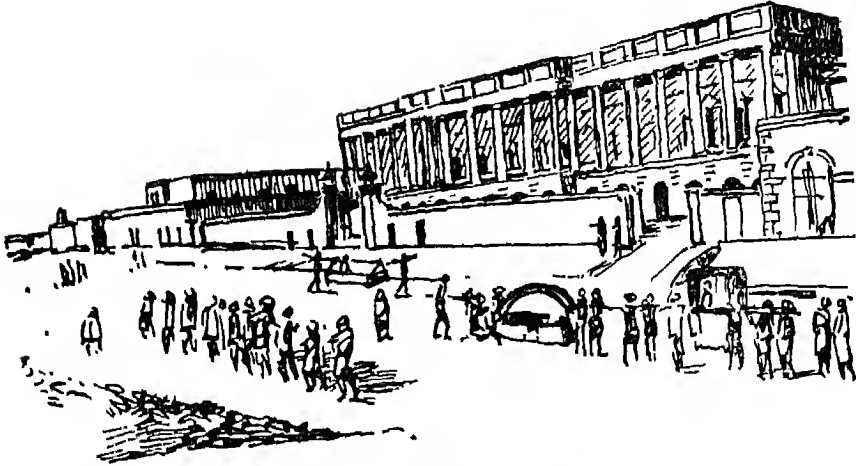
British India was divided into districts corresponding more or less to the 'sarkars' of the earlier period. In each district there was a Collector to collect revenue, a Magistrate to maintain law and order and a Judge to administer justice. In general, the Collector was the head of the district. This system developed through time and experience. All the posts were held by members of the civil service, who also held all higher executive posts. The members of the civil service exercised vast power and gradually built up a tradition of hard work, honest judgement and independence of views. But they never came close to the Indian society in general. The only Indians they knew were their subordinate staff. Apart from day-to-day administrative work, the main aim of the members of the civil service was to safeguard the British interests at the expense of the Indians. This made it difficult for them to come close to the Indian people.

Administration of Justice

All governments and administrations are based on certain

rules and laws which the rulers and the ruled must observe. Only through such observance can a country be governed smoothly. The governments try to see that these rules and laws are not violated. They establish law courts where violations of laws are examined and the guilty are punished according to the law of the country. When the British took up Indian administration, they continued for some time with the laws which were then current in India. According to the Indian tradition, personal laws, i.e., laws regarding marriage, inheritance, caste, religion, etc., were governed according to customs and scriptures—*shastras* and *shariat* etc. The revenue and criminal cases were decided by monarchs or judges appointed by them. The British thought it wise not to interfere in this system. As we have seen above, for a while the English judges of the Supreme Court which was established in 1774 tried to apply English law because they knew no other law. But neither the Company's government nor the Indian people liked it. An Act of 1781 restricted the application of English law to Englishmen only. But as conditions changed the need for definite codes to be applicable to the Indian subjects was keenly felt.

This need was met by what came to be known as the Bengal Regulation of 1793. This Regulation bound the courts to take decisions on the rights of persons and property of the Indians according to the provisions contained in it. To a great extent the Regulation accommodated the personal laws of Hindus and Muslims and stated them in clear terms. It



The building of the Supreme Court established in 1774 in Calcutta provided scope to the courts to apply the principles of *justice*, *equality* and *good conscience* where the parties to a case belonged to other communities. The Regulation wanted that each individual should know his rights and privileges and for that its provisions were printed and published in English and Indian languages. By this the foundation was laid in this country of a government by written laws and regulations in place of a government run according to vague customs and the will of the ruler. Other regions of British India also adopted measures on the line of the Bengal Regulation within a few years. The full codification of Indian systems of law and court procedure was taken up after a long time in 1833 when the government appointed the Indian Law Commission.

Enough care was taken by the government to re-organise the courts for fair administration of justice. It saw to

it that every district had a civil and a criminal court and there were courts of appeal of different grades in the district headquarters and in the Presidency towns.

Through framing laws and setting up courts for administration of justice, the Indian people were made to feel that in the Company's territories in India a "rule of law" was being established. This was a new experience in India. The new sovereign whom the Indians designated as "Company Bahadur" was not a ruler in flesh and blood and its laws were framed and orders were exercised by persons who could stay in their post temporarily. These persons were open to public criticism and legal enquiries also. In course of time these laws and courts of justice were able to rouse a sense of security among the Indians.

But "rule of law" within a domain implies that everybody is equal in the eye of law in that area. In British India this was never true as regards the relations between the British and the Indians. They were not ruled by the same laws and tried in the same courts. For the British living in India special courts were established under the charter granted by the British monarch, and British laws were applied there.

Decline in the Position of the Company and Growth of Centralisation

We have stated earlier that the Pitt's India Act fixed two masters for India, the Company and the British Government. The former's hold gradually dwindled during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1813 the Company lost

its exclusive privilege of trading in India. By an Act of Parliament the Indian trade was thrown open to all British people excepting in tea in which the Company was allowed to retain its monopoly. Twenty years later that privilege was also taken away by another Act of Parliament known as the Charter Act of 1833 which asked the Company to wind up its commercial activities in India. This was the right step taken to remove the long felt defect of allowing the same concern to trade in a country as well as run its administration. This Act also contained provisions to improve the administration of India.

By this time the Company's territories in India had expanded enormously through continuous conquest and had made their administration difficult and complicated. The British Government thought that better administration could be done only by centralising the system of governing India and developing a uniform method. This would also allow them (the British Government) to have a tight control over India. The Charter Act of 1833 sought to centralise British India's administrative structure. It empowered the Governor-General-in-Council, which you may remember had been in existence since 1773 when the Regulating Act was passed, to have the full authority over the entire civil and military affairs in the Companies territories in India. The law-making and financial powers so far vested in Presidencies and provinces were to be transferred to the Governor-General-in-Council. This centralised system of administration established the complete domination of the Governor-General-in-Council

over the entire British Indian administration and remained so as one of the major characteristics of the British rule in India till 1947 when India became free.

Exclusion of Indians

In the new system of India's administration the people of the country had a very minor role. A section of the British administrators admitted that "there is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the Government of their country as in British India." They could go only up to the rank of a subedar in the military line and in the civil administration their limits were the petty positions in the judicial and revenue offices. These restrictions had a very dismal effect on the Indian public mind. To get over this drawback the Charter Act of 1833 laid down that no Indian would be debarred from holding any kind of employment under the Company. But very little of this policy was put into practice.

EXERCISES

I. *Terms to remember :*

- The Nabobs :* The name given to the officials of the East India Company in late eighteenth century because they followed the style of life of the Indian aristocracy.
- Charter Acts :* The East India Company was started under a Charter issued by Queen Elizabeth I. The Charter was renewed every 20 years. Through these Charters the British government defined the powers

and position of the Company. The Acts passed for this purpose were called the Charter Acts. The last Charter Act was passed in 1853.

Personal Law

Law relating to such things as marriage, divorce, inheritance of property, etc., applicable to the members of a community based on their customs and traditions or the religious scriptures of that community.

II. Answer the following questions :

1. Under what circumstances was the Regulating Act of 1773 passed ?
2. What improvements in the administration did the Regulating Act envisage ?
3. What were the drawbacks in the Regulating Act of 1773 which the Pitt's India Act sought to remove ?
4. How was administration at the district level organised ?
5. Trace the development of Judicial administration from 1774 to 1856.
6. What were the chief characteristics of the Charter Act of 1833 ?
7. What was the position of Indians in the army and the civil services of the British government in India up to 1856 ?
8. Describe the characteristic features of the British administrative system that were new to India.

III. Given below are some statements relating to the administrative system from 1765 to 1856. Put (✓) mark against correct statements and (×) mark against the wrong ones.

- ✓ 1. The British government interfered in the activities of the East India Company directly for the first time in 1773.
- × 2. The Act of 1773 made the Governor-General all powerful.
- × 3. The Company's powers for administering the territories conquered by the British in India were increased by the Pitt's India Act.

4. The British followed faithfully all the provisions of Pitt's India Act with regard to the extension of British conquest in India.
5. Establishment of the 'rule of law' was a significant contribution of the British administration to India.
- ✕ 6. The British administrative system in India was designed primarily to promote the welfare of the Indian people.
- ✕ 7. The Indians employed by the British in the army and the civil services enjoyed equal rights with the British.
- ✓ 8. With the Charter Act of 1833, the British administration in India became more centralised.

IV. Things to do :

1. Draw a *flow chart* of the Judicial system introduced by the British in India.
2. Draw a time-line and plot on it the passing of the following Acts :
 - (i) The Regulating Act, 1773
 - (ii) The Pitt's India Act, 1784
 - (iii) The Bengal Regulation Act, 1793
 - (iv) The Charter Act, 1813
 - (v) The Charter Act, 1833

CHAPTER VI

Changes in Indian Economy and Society (1765-1856)

THE measures that the new rulers of India took in the fields of land and agriculture, trade and industry, and education and social reforms, deeply affected the life of the people whether living in villages or in towns. New forms of production, social classes and cultural movements emerged. The British policies in India were designed to suit their economic interests and to make their hold on India stable. But they had the effect of bringing about many fundamental changes in the way of life of the Indian people. Many old ways of living died out. Among them the most significant one was the dissolution of the traditional village life.

SECTION A

Disruption of the Village Community

Indian villages where ninety per cent of the Indian people lived were having from early times a self-sufficient character. The village communities had nearly everything they

needed within the villages and their connection with the outside world were fairly thin. They produced their own food and made their own implements and domestic vessels. The priests who were the village teachers as well lived within the boundaries of the village. So did the artisans, the barbers, the washermen, and the like performing other necessary services. The village panchayats and the panchayats of different caste-groups settled disputes arising among people in the village. There were very few necessities—like salt, fine cloth, metal implements and for the rich, gold and silver—for which the village depended on the outside world. With local variations this pattern of life prevailed in villages throughout India.

The peasant families cultivated the land and paid a part of the produce to the rulers as revenue. They enjoyed certain rights over the land and could not be evicted. The revenue was collected by the state usually through the village headman.

When the British established their rule, they allowed the old system to continue under the supervision of their own officials and Indian agents employed by them. But harassment and oppression of the peasants and the landholders caused by the Company's officials, which we have mentioned earlier, earned for the Company a very bad name and it had to change its policy. Then began a period of increasing intervention in the affairs of the village community by the outsiders—the revenue collectors, police and judicial officers

who were directly employed by the Company. The village panchayats lost their authority. Revenue was fixed in terms of a fixed amount of money whatever be the amount of produce. As the revenue had to be paid in cash, the peasants were forced to raise those crops which could be sold in the market. The profession of the local artisans was also soon disrupted as cloth and other goods cheaper in price started reaching the villages. Because of these reasons the villages lost their self-sufficiency. They became more and more dependent on the towns.

New Systems of Land-Holding and Land Revenue

You have noticed that the collection of revenue was the first privilege that the East India Company won after the battle of Buxar. With the expansion of British conquests, the amount of this collection also increased and land revenue became the Company's biggest source of income in this country. A large share of this income was paid to the Government of Britain as tribute. The British Parliament passed an Act in 1767 which required the Company to pay the British treasury £ 400,000 every year. What is more interesting is that a part of the revenue thus collected was invested for buying commercial goods in India which the Company exported to Britain and other parts of the world. Naturally the new rulers adopted such policies on land-holding and revenue as guaranteed collection of a large amount on a regular basis.

In Warren Hastings' time, the Company introduced in

Bengal and Bihar the system of auctioning the right of collecting revenue. The person giving the highest bid was given the right to collect revenue from an area. The result was that most of the lands were farmed out to the new bidders. This system, as you already know, is called the *ijaradari* system. The new system proved helpful neither to the Company as the actual collection never came up to its expectation nor to the peasants who were fleeced by the new *zamindars*.

Permanent Settlement

As the bidding system did not bring stability to its income, the Company took up some new schemes and finally decided to fix the land revenue of Bengal and Bihar on a permanent basis. The scheme known as the Permanent Settlement was introduced by Cornwallis in 1793.

According to it, the revenue collector of an estate became its owner as well. The new *zamindar* was required to pay an amount fixed once for all to the government within a specified time and keep the balance of the collection with himself. He now gained the hereditary right over the estate and could sell or mortgage it if necessary. You may remember that the *jagirdars* of the Mughal empire did not own their *jagirs*. Those *jagirs* could be transferred by the State and the *jagirdars* could even be deprived of their *jagirs*. They could not sell the *jagirs* nor could they evict the cultivators from the land.

The Permanent Settlement, it was expected, would make the Company's income from revenue regular and would also

create a class of landlords similar to that which existed in Britain. They would be loyal to the state because they had gained through it a new kind of property right. Assured of their ownership, many of these landlords stayed most of the time in towns away from their estates and squeezed their tenants to the limit of the latter's capacities. In 1799, they were empowered to evict the tenants and also to confiscate their property for non-payment of rent, i.e., the tenants' dues to the landlord. This resulted in making a large section of tenants dispossessed of their land particularly when crops failed. The number of landless labourers who now form a large section of the village population increased in this way. In the long run the Permanent Settlement benefited the landlords more than the government. With the growth of population the area of cultivation also increased. This made the landlords richer but the government could not derive any fresh benefit.

Ryotwari and Mahalwari Systems

The Permanent Settlement was extended to Orissa, the coastal districts of Andhra and to Benaras. With the take-over of Mysore and Carnatic between 1799 and 1801, a settlement in the Madras Presidency was also felt necessary. The long-drawn wars in this region made the landlords lose their economic power. As a result no settlement could be made with them on the line adopted in Bengal and Bihar. Because of this and at the insistence of Thomas Munro who served the Presidency for a long period and later on became its Governor, a new kind of settlement

was introduced there. This was known as the *ryotwari* system and according to it a direct settlement was made between the government and the *ryot* i.e., the cultivator. The revenue was fixed for a period not exceeding 30 years on the basis of the quality of the soil and the nature of the crop. The government's share was about half of the net value of the crop. Under this system the position of the cultivator became more secure but the rigid system of revenue collection often forced him into the clutches of the money-lender. Besides, the government itself became a big zamindar and the cultivator was left at the mercy of its officers.

In northern India, the system of land settlement varied according to the local practices. In western Uttar Pradesh, a settlement was made with the village communities which maintained a form of common ownership known as *bhaichara*, or with *mahals* which were groups of villages subordinate to the old established landlords called *talugdars*. Hence, it came to be known as the *mahalwari* system. The lands of Punjab and Delhi were also settled on this line.

In western India the British maintained the land system left by the Marathas for some time but gradually modified it mainly on the *ryotwari* principles. The village headmen (*dessis* and *patels*) came under the supervision of British district officials who finally swallowed up their functions.

The land laws introduced by the British brought many new factors in Indian society. Land became a saleable property after the individual's right of ownership over it was established. The system of paying off revenue within the

specified time compelled many small land-holders to mortgage or to dispose of their property. The new systems have been mainly responsible for the inequitable ownership of land and growth of poverty in the countryside.

But they also helped in an indirect way the Indian agricultural production by introducing it to the market. Foodgrains as well as various kinds of cash crops and plantation products became important merchandise both for internal and external markets. For example, the cultivation of poppy was encouraged because the British merchants found in China a rich field for smuggling opium. Cotton cultivation in the black soil of the Deccan received a great boost because of its demand outside. Indian jute, tea and coffee were slowly building up a profitable export trade. But it was the British commercial houses and their Indian agents (*gomastas*) who gained most from the trade. The benefits did not reach the Indian cultivators.

Industry and Trade

The industrial population of India, before modern methods of production were introduced, were of two types, the village artisans and those engaged in different kinds of specialised crafts. Those belonging to the latter group lived mostly in towns. The ordinary village artisans were the weavers of coarse cloth, carpenters and smiths producing implements, and potters making domestic vessels. Their professions were mainly hereditary. They were also cultivators for a part of the year. The self-sufficient village community of those days needed the services of these local artisans.

The other kind of craftsmen were engaged in a wide range of localised production. They made goods of utility as well as the luxury products and had markets both inside and outside the country.

The cotton textiles formed the chief item among these specialised products. This industry was spread over many parts of the country and its important centres of production were Dacca, Krishnanagar, Benaras, Lucknow, Agra, Multan, Lahore, Burhanpur, Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad and Madura. The chief luxury varieties were calico and muslin. No less well known were the textile products made from wool and silk. Metal works of iron and steel, copper and brass, gold and silver were also very famous.

The ship-building industry of India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had earned fame and the most important ship-building yards were at Goa, Bassein, Surat, Masulipatam, Satgaon, Dacca and Chittagong. It has been observed by a scholar of this period that "in ship-building they (Indians) probably taught the English far more than they learnt from them."

The industries in towns were well-organised. The craftsmanship was a hereditary occupation and craftsmen were members of a particular sub-caste. Only in Gujarat craftsmen were organised into guilds which looked after the quality of work and welfare of their members. On the whole, production was organised by independent craftsmen who worked on order and materials supplied by their customers. The merchants used to advance money to the craftsmen and there

was regular patronage from the princes and nobles particularly for the luxury products.

Decline of Indian Industries

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century these crafts and industries occupied a very important position in India's economy. But the first half of this century saw their rapid decline. What were the reasons for this turn of events ?

With the gradual abolition of the princely order in the British territories, demand for finer varieties of Indian industrial products went on declining. Some of the princes and nobles used to retain expert craftsmen on a regular salary. But the British officials who replaced the nobles did not patronise the Indian craftsmen to an equal degree. Moreover, they had different tastes and some of them tried to introduce European forms and patterns which the Indian craftsmen did not pick up. In fact, it was only in the territories where Indian princes continued to rule that some of the traditional crafts survived. The examples are to be found in places like Kashmir, some states in Rajasthan, Kathiawad and Hyderabad. But the major reasons for the decline of the Indian industries lay elsewhere.

India's destiny now lay in the hands of the traders and industrialists of Britain. They had enough influence on the British Government which was supervising the Company's administration in India. You may remember that the prime motive of the European traders including those from Britain for coming to India was to participate in and

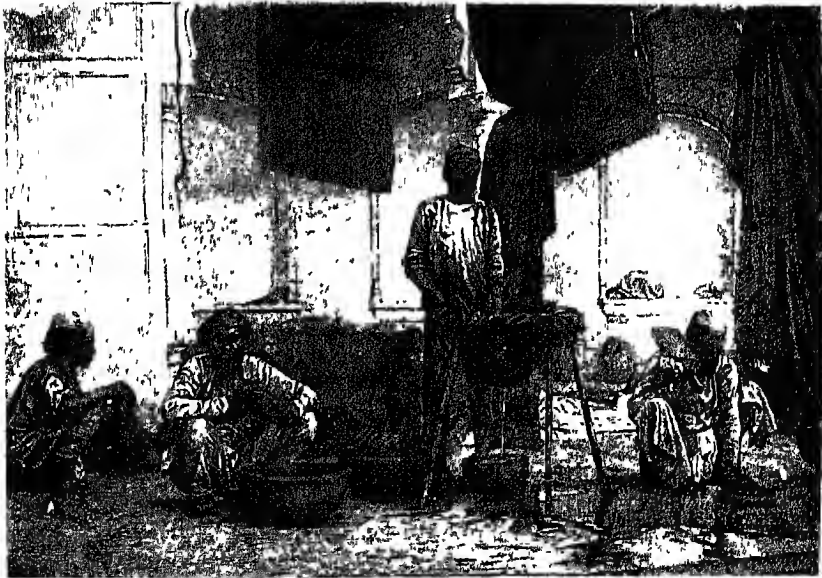
make profits from trade with this country. Now the British were in a position to derive the maximum benefit in this matter because of their increasing dominance over India. To understand this we shall have to know the background of India's trade and commercial activities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Though most of India's agricultural and industrial products went to meet the domestic needs, they had a very favourable market abroad. India held an enviable position in the international trade through her export of fine cotton and silk fabrics, spices, indigo, sugar, drugs precious stones and various works of craftsmanship. In exchange, India received gold and silver.

By the end of the seventeenth century the demand for Indian cotton goods in England went so high that the native textile industry there got crippled and the English weavers were found "running up and down the nation seeking bread." This led to the passing of laws in Britain in the year 1700 and again in 1720 prohibiting the entry of many varieties of the Indian textile products. Similar prohibitory rules were adopted in other countries of Europe also. These restrictions naturally affected the Indian textile industry very adversely but still the export trade in cotton and silk products and other commodities continued. Meanwhile the cotton industry in England was developing and it made an all out effort to compete with the Indian varieties. For example, Indian Chint—a kind of printed cloth produced in Lucknow—was a favourite with English ladies and we find that by 1754 the

English printers were claiming to have excelled the Indian workmanship. The Industrial Revolution and the mechanisation of the English textile industry at this time came to their aid. This was to make the position of Indian textile exports really difficult. By then the Company's rule in India had also begun and steps were taken in India and in Britain to subserve the interests of the British traders and manufacturers at the expense of Indian industries.

In order to increase the Company's profits, its agents



Cloth-making was a very important industry in India. This illustration shows the dyeing of cloth in Lucknow in the 19th century.

forced the producers of cotton cloth and other commodities to charge for their goods 20 to 40 per cent less than the price these fetched in the open market. When in Dacca, the biggest centre for producing muslin, the weavers resisted this and demanded higher prices for their goods, force was used to keep them under control. A number of weavers were registered in the books of the Company and they were not permitted to work for any one else. Another oppressive practice used by the Company's officials to the detriment of cotton textile industry was to manipulate the prices of raw cotton. Bengal received the finer varieties of cotton from the Deccan. The Company's officials used to make bulk purchase of Deccan cotton and sold them to the weavers of Bengal at Rs. 28 to 30 per maund which otherwise would have cost Rs. 16 to 18 per maund. All these led to the impoverishment of the weaving community, and the cotton textile industry was almost wiped out. In this way the prosperous industrial province of Bengal was practically ruined by the end of the eighteenth century.

The appearance of the machine-made textile which was cheaper than hand-made products of India struck the greatest blow to cotton industry. Moreover, British goods coming to India were not to pay any duty under the free policy imposed on India to extend the market for British goods. On the other hand, the Indian exports to Britain were subjected to high import duty.

The free trade policy proved ruinous to India's industries. India became flooded with foreign manufactures and ironically cotton textiles formed the major item of import. Not only did India lose its foreign markets but its domestic market

was flooded with imported goods ranging from cooking utensils to weapons, all made in Britain.

For the decline of trade and industry there were certain internal causes also. India did not have at that time organised bodies like guilds or a class of industrial entrepreneurs, to develop its trade and industry. Nor did it have a suitable shipping arrangement of its own to maintain its overseas markets. For this reason its foreign trade had passed completely into the hands of the outsiders. To meet the challenge from the West on equal terms a national commercial policy was very much necessary at that time. But a sense of nationalism was yet to grow in India.

Rise of a New Class of People

With the changes in land laws and the disruption of old methods of trade and industry, a new social order was emerging in India. A new system based on individual's right of property, initiative and money economy was slowly replacing the old system of self-contained village economy. The new urban areas like Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were now becoming the nerve-centres of the country's activities. These were the seats of government and centres of trade and commerce. Soon these cities were to grow as centres of education and learning and other kinds of progressive social activities as well.

The new rent-receiving landlords, money-lenders, government servants and businessmen who were acting as agents of foreign rulers formed a new section in Indian society. They were the products of administrative and economic policies

of the British Government. They formed the core of the Indian middle class who believed that the social and economic condition of the Indian people could be improved only on the basis of the new systems that had come from the West.

They, together with those sections of Indians whose traditional occupation were study and teaching, were the first to accept the new form of education developing in the country. They knew that their major support was the British rule. That is why they kept themselves aloof during the Revolt of 1857.

But we shall see later on that the alliance between this new middle class and the British rulers did not continue long. The former desired new openings in trade and industry and higher posts in the civil service. This was thwarted by the imperial rulers who did not want to face competition from their subject people and thus risk their positions of privilege. This conflict of interests provoked the Indians to agitate for freedom from foreign control and exploitation which in course of time developed into the national movement for independence.

Administration in British India became more and more centralised from 1833, as mentioned earlier. And there was growth of education also. As a result of these factors, a sense of unity had started growing among the middle classes of the different regions of India. This sense of unity was soon to find expression in nationalism.

EXERCISES

To remember :

1. *The Permanent Settlement.* It was a system of revenue collection introduced in Bengal and Bihar by Cornwallis in 1793. According to it the Zamindars got hereditary rights over land on the condition that they would pay fixed amount of revenue to the State.
2. *The Ryotwari System.* This was another system of land revenue which was introduced in Madras and Bombay Presidencies. According to this system the government made settlements with the cultivators for a specific period (30 years) during which the cultivator had to pay 50 per cent of the produce to the government. The settlement was to be revised after the stipulated period.

II. Answer the following questions :

1. How was a village a self-sufficient unit before the coming of the British in India ?
2. In what way did the village lose its compactness and self governing traditions after the establishment of the Company's rule ?
3. What was the difference between the nature of Zamindari introduced by Warren Hastings and the one adopted by the Mughals ?
4. What were the chief characteristics of the Permanent Settlement introduced by Cornwallis in 1793 ?
5. How did the Permanent Settlement benefit landlords more than the government ?
6. What were the main features of the *Ryotwari* and the *Mahalwari* systems ?
7. State the effects of the land laws introduced by the British on the economic life of the people of the country.

8. Explain the pattern of industries prevalent in India at the time of the coming of Europeans.
9. In what ways were the indigenous industries affected by the industrial policy of the British government ?
10. What were the internal causes for the decline of the traditional industries in India during the British rule ?
11. Which social class emerged as a result of changes in the economic and administrative system of the country ? What were the characteristics of this class ?
12. Why is it that the new class that emerged as a result of changes in economic and administrative system was loyal to the British in the beginning but became hostile to it later on ?

III. In the statements below are given some aspects of the land revenue system introduced by the British in India. Against the statement put

A if it pertains to the Permanent Settlement

B „ „ Ryotwari System

C „ „ Mahalwari System

1. The intermediary between the government and the cultivator was removed.
2. The groups of villages remained under the old landlords.
3. The Zamindars were given hereditary rights on the lands.
4. The share of the middle man was fixed permanently.

IV. Things to do :

Draw a comparative chart of the various land revenue systems in India introduced by the British and the system prevalent in the previous period showing the position of the Zamindar, the position of the tenant, the position of the government, the procedures of revenue collection, and the share of the government as revenue.

SECTION B

Education and Social Reforms

You have read before that self-sufficiency of villages formed one of the principal characteristics of the Indian society till the eighteenth century. Another important characteristic was its caste basis, i.e., the division of the people into various groups called castes and sub-castes or *jatis*.

You have read in your books on 'Ancient India' and 'Medieval India' about the origin of the caste system and the changes that took place in it through the ages. It had been influenced by the introduction of new trades and professions, political changes, emergence of new religions as well as by regional peculiarities. In course of time birth, occupation and marriage ties became the basis for cast distinction. Gradually, the castes and sub-castes grew up into rigid social groups having their own customs and laws which were administered by the local caste councils. The rulers of the country usually did not interfere with the caste laws. Though the caste system was mainly a feature of the Hindus it affected those Indians also who were converted to Islam and Christianity.

Caste system thus became a factor dividing Indian society. People showed loyalty to their specific caste group rather than to the state, country or society as a whole. The country was thus divided into small and rigid cells. Blind faith prevailed in matters of religion, education and other social practices. The general norm of conduct was unques-

tioned acceptance of the traditional practices. The British rule, however, posed a challenge to the old way of life of the Indian people and affected it in many ways. You have seen earlier how the British policies on land and trade had influenced India's economic life. The new system of education and religious and social reforms that were introduced in the earlier part of the nineteenth century paved the way for many more radical changes.

Early Contact with the West

Besides the traders there were other groups in Europe which were keen on establishing close relations with India. Among them the Christian missionaries and a band of scholars interested in the learning of the East were prominent.

The aim of the European missionaries who had been coming to India since 1542 onwards was to convert as many Indian as possible to Christianity. Even the Portuguese traders, the earliest of the European to come to India, used to say, "We have come to seek Christians and spices." The zeal for conversion caused unfavourable reaction in this country. For this reason, the East India Company barred the entry of missionaries into its territories except on special permission during the early days of their rule.

Along with preaching Christianity some of these missionaries studied Indian languages and literature and religious and social customs to understand the Indian people better. In this matter some others who had no connection with the Church—traders, emissaries to Indian courts, etc.,—were also

interested. Through their patient efforts the ancient religions, culture and learning of India were gradually made familiar to Europe. The early British rulers also felt the need of knowing the traditional systems of government in their newly acquired colony. At this time a few very bright English men had joined the Company's service in India. They were able to master different branches of Indian learning and came to respect it.

Of these scholars William Jones was the most notable. He learned Sanskrit thoroughly and found that it had a strong affinity with the Greek and Latin. (He translated Kalidas's *Shakuntala* into English and composed a Digest of Indian Law. His greatest contribution to India was the foundation of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta in the year 1784.) The scholars of this Society discovered that India had produced a civilisation equal to any other in the ancient world. Through the efforts of the Asiatic Society, enthusiasm for studies on ancient and medieval India spread in our country and throughout Europe. Jones and other European scholars very much desired that Indians should rise again and develop themselves on their own lines.

But the Christian missionaries held a different view about it. They found the Indian religions full of prejudices and such evils as idolatry. They thought that the salvation of India lay in adopting Christianity and taking to western learning. They put pressure on the British Government to permit them free entry into the territories conquered by the British in India. In the Charter Act of 1813, their demands were conceded. Since then a

network of British and later on American missionaries was spread throughout British India. Apart from preaching Christianity the missionaries engaged themselves in many kinds of social service like running hospitals and educational institutions. The latter in particular made a powerful impact on the growing urban society of India.

Another group in Britain started showing concern over the affairs in India. The members of this group respected oriental learning and civilisation though they found them outdated. People having such views held responsible positions in the British Government in the early nineteenth century. They advocated the learning of modern European knowledge by the Indians for the recovery of India.

Thus the Indian people found themselves at the turn of the century exposed to different kinds of ideas and directions. The British administrators and the Indian leaders also debated over a long period as to what should be the most suitable system of education to be introduced in the country.

New Education

There was a network of elementary schools, *pathshalas* and *maktabs* as well as *tols* and *madrassas* for higher education throughout the country when the Company's rule began. At the elementary level the pupils were taught certain passages from religious books written in the local language, letter writing and arithmetical tables. Through this training they became just literate and capable of maintaining small accounts for their family farm or trade. Higher education was mostly



A school of the 11th century

availed of by Brahmins among the Hindus and upper class Muslims. At this level, there was specialised training in grammar, classical languages (Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian) and literature, law, logic and among the science subjects, medicine and astronomy. The courses were based on old texts and their commentaries, and memorising them formed the only method of learning. The overall educational system was very much backward and people knew nothing of the progress that science had made in Europe through methods of observation, experiment and criticism.

The traditional system of education continued in most

parts of Company's territory for a fairly long time. The Company's government was rather indifferent to education for a long time. Even the traditional system of education suffered because the land granted to learned people and for purposes of education by the former rulers was taken over by the British. However, even when the Company was just a trading concern, a few new types of schools giving instruction in English language and other branches of western learning had started functioning first in the Madras region and then in Bengal and Bombay. These were mostly run by Christian missionaries with the financial support of Indian princes and wealthy persons. The pupils in these schools came mainly from the homes of Company's Indian employees. It did not take long for the Indians to understand that knowledge of English would be helpful to establish contact with the Company in matters of service and business.

(The first educational institutions supported by the Company's government were the Calcutta Madrasa and Benaras Sanskrit College established in 1781 and 1791 respectively. The purpose of opening them was to train Indians efficiently so that they could help the Company's British officials in civil and judicial administration.) The course in these institutions were more or less on the old Indian line. (Fort William College was started in Calcutta in 1801) and a handful of Indian scholars under a British principal were engaged there to acquaint the British civilians with the languages, history, law and customs of India. The first primer in

Bengali, an Urdu dictionary and a grammar of Hindi were produced by these scholars. In 1813 through the Charter Act the British Government sanctioned that the Company could spend a lakh of rupees for the educational development of India. The Company did not, however, have a positive educational policy till 1835.

At this time there was a scholar and thinker in Bengal named Rammohun Roy who was well versed in both oriental and western learning. He held that India of his time could progress only through western learning.

It was mainly through the hard work of Rammohun Roy and his associates that the Company's government was convinced of the utility of western education for India. William Bentinck who was the Governor-General of India from 1828 to 1835 and one of his important advisers Lord Macaulay shared Rammohun's views.



Macaulay

Bentinck on a very strong recommendation of Macaulay, decided in 1835 in favour of giving governmental support to "the promotion of European literature and sciences among the natives of India." This gave the pursuit of western learning

in India, generally called English education, an official stamp.

You should, however, know that even in the new system English did not replace the use of Indian languages in the lower schools. The English language was to be used in place of Sanskrit or Arabic as the medium of higher education.

The demand for English education was growing fast throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. The government's declaration in 1844 that English knowing Indians would be given preference in public employment made the English education more popular.

But there was another side also. Through contact with English language educated Indians became gradually enlightened with modern thinking and ideas which were based on reason and scientific investigation. They were also introduced to the ideas of liberty and democracy. Of course as very few could avail themselves of the facilities for the new learning, the general pattern of society was not much affected. But the new education brought into being a few movements which contributed much to the making of modern India.

The Pioneers of Modern India

Most of these movements started in Bengal. This was the province in the country where British rule was first established. Thus this area came under influence of western culture and activities earlier than the other regions.

Rammohun Roy

But it was not only the contact with the western culture that took India to the modern age. The reacquain-

tance with its own ancient knowledge which became possible through the work of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta and other individual scholars was also a great factor towards bringing about this change. The educated Indians of the early nineteenth century soon realised that by forgetting the truths propounded by their own thinkers of earlier times in matters of religion, art, politics and social usage, they had become slaves to unreal and decadent traditions. Rammohun Roy, whom we have mentioned above, was the pioneering figure to draw the people's attention towards this. He initiated and organised many powerful movements to fight for reforms. For this he sought inspiration from the ancient knowledge of India as well as the modern sciences of the west.



Raja Rammohun Roy

Rammohun was born in 1774 in an orthodox brahmin family. He studied traditional brahmanical texts in Sanskrit at Benaras and Arabic and Persian at Patna. Later on, when he was in service under an Englishman he mastered English language and western culture. When he was only sixteen or seventeen he wrote an article criticising the practice of idol-worship by the Hindus. He was driven out of his family

because of this. By sustained and deep study he became aware that unfortunately people always emphasised on their own particular creeds, forms of worship and rituals. This separated one religion from another. Rammohun protested against this approach by writing books and articles regularly and argued in favour of a Universal Religion based on the principle of one Supreme God.

He was convinced that to cure Hindu religion of the evils that had crept into it, it was necessary to bring to the public knowledge the truth stated in the original *shastras*. For this purpose he took up the hard and patient job of publishing the Bengali translations of the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* and demonstrated to the people that these texts preached only one God and idol-worship had no place there. In course of time he was able to draw around himself a group of the educated people to discuss and propagate on these lines. In 1828 a new society named Brahma Samaj (One God Society) was started which discarded idol-worship, caste divisions and many other meaningless rites and rituals.

Though Rammohun and his associates had to face sharp criticism and ridicule for this new religious movement from the orthodox Hindus, the Brahma Samaj turned out to be an effective organisation to reform the stagnant Hindu society. Later on the Samaj expanded throughout the country. Similar reform movements were taken up by the Prarthana Samaj in western India and Arya Samaj in northern India during the later half of the nineteenth century.

But Rammohun was not merely a religious reformer. He fought against all kinds of social evils and oppressions. He strongly supported the British government in their attempt to stop the barbarous practice of burning Hindu widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. This practice was known as *satidaha*. Official records say that between 1815 and 1828, about 8,000 such burnings took place. Rammohun proved that there is no religious sanction for this evil and organised a fiery public agitation against the practice through signature campaigns and a petition to the British Parliament. In 1829, the government took courage to ban this evil.

We have already mentioned Rammohun's advocacy of English education. He helped running a number of educational institutions combining Oriental learning with western arts and sciences.

Derozio and Young Bengal

For carrying on the modernising movements in Bengal the Hindu College of Calcutta, founded in 1817, had a very important role. A comrade of Rammohun, David Hare, took the keenest interest in starting this College. He had come from Scotland to sell watches in Calcutta but later on made the spread of modern education in Bengal his life's mission. In 1826 a young man of 17, Henry Vivian Derozio, joined the Hindu College as a teacher. Within no time he drew around him the best boys of the College whom he constantly encouraged to think freely, and to question all

authority. Derozio promoted radical ideas through his class lectures and by organising student societies for debates and



Henry Louis Vivian Derozio

discussions on literature, history, philosophy and science. Through these activities Derozio practically charmed the young Hindu students of Calcutta and brought about an intellectual revolution among them. His students, collectively called the *Young Bengal*, ridiculed all kinds of old traditions, defied social and religious conventions and demanded freedom of thought and expression and education for women. They cherished the traditions of the French Revolution and the liberal thinking of England.

The very strong radical views of this group and their non-conventional practices like showing no respect to religious idols, beef eating, etc., alarmed the orthodox Hindus of Calcutta. They thought that the teachings of Derozio were the root cause of the heretical views held by their young folk and brought pressure on the authorities of the Hindu College to dismiss him.

The *Young Bengal* movement continued even after Derozio's dismissal and his sudden death in 1831. Though deprived of leadership the members of this group continued preaching radical views through teaching and journalism. However, the moderate approach of Rammohun Roy

and his followers was more successful in winning over the people in support of social reforms.

The trends of modernising Indian society that had appeared in Bengal in the earlier part of the nineteenth century developed in other regions also as they gradually came under the British rule and western influences. The activities of the reformers created a climate of public opinion which encouraged the government in adopting certain reform measures as well

Social Reforms

As the Indian society had remained stagnant for a long time, many degrading and inhuman social and religious customs had grown. The weak and unprotected members of the community--children, women and people belonging to low castes and of course the poor--were invariably the victims of these customs.

Infanticide was prevalent in certain areas of the country. The practice of killing infant girls existed among some sections as a result of a serious social problem. Because of convention the marriage of girls had to be arranged within a very restricted section of the community and expenses of marriage were also very high. If daughters remained unmarried that too brought disgrace to the family. To avoid this, many infant girls were killed immediately after birth. Sometimes to honour religious vows both male and female infants were thrown into sacred rivers. The government passed regulations in 1795, 1802 and 1804 to stop this

criminal practice. However, it took a long time to eradicate it.

The position of women in India during early nineteenth century was far from honourable. For many of them "it was a long tale of suffering and humiliation from birth to death." The system of arranging their marriage at a very early age deprived the girls of education of any worth. The superstitious belief that an educated woman would soon become a widow was also a great hindering factor. Among the upper castes the widow either had to become a *sati*, or had to live as a burden to the family for the rest of her life. Even a child widow could not be married again. But the man had that right and if he liked he could live with a number of wives. Women could not inherit any immovable property also.

With the spread of modern education and the resulting enlightenment, the situation started changing. The Christian missionaries and the Brahma Samaj tried to organise elementary education for girls. But the foundation of the Hindu Balika Vidyalya at Calcutta through the joint efforts of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and a British official Drinkwater Bethune, was the first significant step towards the development of female education in India. As usual, orthodox Hindu sections gave a stiff opposition to these developments.

Vidyasagar was also the chief agent for reforming the marriage system. He campaigned against the practice of child marriage and polygamy. Mainly through his efforts

the Widow Remarriage Act was dashed by the government in 1856. But social customs died hard. Many of these evils are in our midst even today.

Poverty compelled certain people to lose their freedom for the whole of their life and they became a commodity for sale and purchase in the market. In India there had been a regular trade in slaves though not on a large scale. From the interior parts of the country, child-slaves were brought to cities and many of them were exported to other parts of the British colonies. The slaves were used by the rich people, both British and Indian, mostly as domestic servants. They were also engaged in cultivation. The educated public had raised their voice against this evil system repeatedly. The Charter Act of 1833 required the Indian Government to abolish slavery. By a law passed in 1843 slavery was made illegal in India.

Except for the slaves, what we have stated above is mostly about the activities of the upper and the new middle classes of Bengal where the impact of the west was first felt. The changes that came there gradually spread to other parts of India. These two classes gained most in the terms of money and social position. The majority of the people lived in villages as poor and illiterate peasants. Neither the zamindar nor the educated class came to the help of the village peasants. Once in a while poverty and sufferings compelled them to revolt.

However, the intellectual and cultural movements of the earlier part of the nineteenth century contained all the

ingredients that within a century shaped the pattern of modern India. The movements contained the seeds of nationalism, secularism and radicalism. They are thus connected with our freedom movement which aimed at achieving independence from foreign rule as well as building up a better society.

EXERCISES

I. Answer the following questions :

1. Explain in what way the caste system harmed the Indian society ?
2. What was the attitude of European scholars towards the study of Indian languages and culture ?
3. What steps did the British Government take to promote education in India during the later part of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century ?
4. Why was English education considered beneficial to the Indian people ?
5. On what aspects of education were the views of Raja Rammohun Roy and William Bentinck similar ?
6. What steps were taken to elevate the status of women in Indian society ?

II. Given below are some effects of English education on Indian society. Explain how each of them helped in the progress of Indian society.

1. People living in different parts of the country could communicate with one another.

2. Many Indians became acquainted with modern political ideas.
3. Many Indians developed a scientific outlook.

III. Four possible answers have been given for each of the following questions. Put a (✓) mark against the correct answer.

1. Most of the reform movements started first in Bengal because :
 - (a) The British rule was established there first.
 - (b) The Christian missionaries were very active there.
 - (c) The common people were extremely oppressed there.
 - (d) The people were educated.
2. Which one of the following is *not* true of Raja Rammohun Roy ?
 - (a) He wanted the British Government to interfere in the religious matters of the Indian society.
 - (b) He completely renounced Hinduism.
 - (c) He based his philosophy on a synthesis of ancient Indian and modern western ideas.
 - (d) He was in favour of English education

IV Things to do :

- 1 Prepare a list of social reforms advocated by Raja Rammohun Roy. Which of these reforms were implemented by the government ?
2. Prepare a comparative chart of the Indian and the western educational systems under the following heads : (a) Purpose of education ; (b) Effects on society.

CHAPTER VII

The Revolt of 1857

THE year 1857 was an eventful year in the history of the Indian people. It was in that year that the great armed uprising took place against the British rule in India. It began on 10 May, 1857 with the mutiny of Indian soldiers or 'sepoys', as the British used to call them, stationed at Meerut. Next day these soldiers marched into Delhi where they were joined by the soldiers stationed at Delhi. The city of Delhi passed into their hands and the eighty years old Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar was proclaimed Emperor of India. The unrest against the British rule that had been brewing for a long time now broke out into a revolt. The revolt which had begun with the mutiny of soldiers soon spread like wildfire through the greater part of the country and shook the very foundations of the British rule in India. It took the British over a year to suppress the revolt though many more years passed until peace was restored fully.

Early Resistance to British Rule

During the hundred years following the Battle of Plassey, India suffered a gradual loss of independence. Practi-



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The spellings of names appearing on these maps have been taken from various sources.

The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line,

cally the entire country came under the domination of the British. However, the process of the British conquest of India had not been a smooth one. Hardly a year passed without a revolt or a mutiny in one part or the other of the country.

Some of these revolts continued for a number of years. For example, the revolt of the Khonds in Orissa started in 1836 and continued up to 1855. The Faraizis continued to fight against the British in Bengal for about 30 years. The revolt started by Syed Ahmad of Rae Bareli continued for



Indian soldiers attacking British soldiers in Kanpur, 1857

decades. There were also revolts of the Kols and the Santhals and of the rulers and chiefs at many places. There were

mutinies by soldiers, one of the most serious being the one at Vellore in 1806 instigated by the sons of Tipu Sultan. However, almost all these revolts were usually isolated occurrences and confined to one or the other area and hence not very difficult to suppress.

However, the revolt of 1857 which began with the mutiny of soldiers at Meerut was by far the most widespread challenge to the British rule. In many of its aspects, it was unprecedented in Indian history. It brought together soldiers of different regions and many rulers and chiefs of different states and principalities to fight for the common aim of overthrowing the British rule. Many other sections of society—landlords, peasants, artisans, scholars—joined the Revolt, making a common cause with the rulers, chiefs and the soldiers. Because of the widespread and popular nature of the Revolt, it is considered the first Indian war of independence.

✓ Discontent Against the British Rule

The Revolt was caused by widespread discontent that the British policies in India had created. You have read of these policies in the preceding chapters and you must have already understood some of the causes of the discontent. The discontent had been accumulating for some time and with the mutiny of the troops at Meerut it burst out into a rebellion.

Displacement of the Old Ruling Sections

You have already read that the policy of conquest pursued by the British had created unrest among many

Indian rulers and chiefs. The British had entered into agreement with them under the system of Subsidiary Alliance. That these agreements could be abrogated at will by the British had been shown time and again. Sindh, Punjab and Awadh were annexed. The vigorous application of the Doctrine of Lapse by Dalhousie added to the discontent which the annexations had already caused. In 1854, Jhansi was annexed when Dalhousie refused to recognise the adopted son of the deceased Raja as his successor. Earlier in 1851 when Peshwa Baji Rao II died, his adopted son Nana Sahib was refused the pension that the Peshwa had been getting. The Mughal Emperor himself was told that his successors would not be regarded as kings. These actions created unrest among the ruling families who had lost their power and put fear in others that a similar fate awaited them.



Nana Sahib

The British also followed a policy of destroying the power of the nobles and zamindars in the territories they had annexed. Many of them were deprived of their lands. Under the new land revenue system introduced by the British, the old land-owning families were displaced. These families had

received grants of land from their old rulers for services rendered to them. With annexation, the administrative machinery of each state was also abolished, throwing out of employment all those persons who had been part of the old administrative system. The learned people who worked for the state and received its patronage lost their jobs and the lands granted to them by the old rulers were taken away. A policy of excluding them from administration was followed. Many soldiers of the armies of the Indian rulers were also thrown out of employment after their states had been conquered or had entered into a subsidiary alliance with the British. Many craftsmen who depended on state patronage were also ruined. Thus, the annexations affected not merely the rulers but also hundreds of thousands of other people who were connected with the old order.

Ruination of Peasants and Artisans

The condition of the peasants had become worse under the land systems introduced by the British. The displacement of the old zamindars did not lead to any improvement in the lot of the peasants. The revenue demand in many cases was increased, adding to their misery. They continued to have respect for their old rulers and zamindars. You have already read of the ruination of the artisans as a result of the economic policies followed by the British government. The old handicrafts had been ruined with the influx of British manufactured goods into India. The suffering peasantry

and artisans plunged themselves into the battle to overthrow the British rule.

Fear of Loss of Religion and Caste

The British policy and attitude had created a fear among the people that the British government was determined to destroy their religion and culture. They felt that the British government was following a deliberate policy to convert them to Christianity. Some missionaries openly decried Hinduism and Islam and the customs of the people. Some of the social reform measures of the British government added to these fears. *Sati* had been abolished. Converts to Christianity could claim their share in the ancestral property. The British often ignored caste rules, for example, in the army, in prisons and railway coaches, etc. The new educational institutions, many of which were started by Christian missionaries, were looked upon with suspicion. Most people who were still orthodox in their thinking were discontented with these developments. As these policies were being practised by rulers who were foreigners, they were all the more unacceptable to the people. Thus many people were led to revolt against the British rule in the name of their religion. Many Maulvis had already given the call of a 'holy war' or *Jihad* against the British. The British government also paid scant regard to the religious beliefs of the people. This deeply offended the people. The fear of loss of religion ultimately proved to be the immediate cause of the outbreak of the Revolt.

Grievances of the Indian Soldiers

The rising discontent in the country was bound to infect the Indian soldiers who formed seven-eighths of the British Government's troops in India. They felt the injustices which the old ruling families in India had been suffering. The increased misery which the common people had to suffer affected the soldiers directly as they were part and parcel of Indian society. Besides, the Indian soldiers had their own specific grievances because of which they became the pioneers of the Revolt.

The Indian soldiers could not hope to rise in the hierarchy of the army as the avenues of promotion were closed to them. The higher posts in the army were reserved for European officers. There was great disparity between the salaries of Indian and European soldiers. The Indian soldiers were treated by their European officers with contempt. The uncertainty with regard to their salary added to resentment which the discrimination against them had created. They were given an extra allowance when they were sent to war. When a war was over and the territory they had helped to conquer was annexed, the allowance was withdrawn. The offence caused to their religious sentiments aggravated their resentment and created an explosive situation. They were sent to fight outside India across the seas, which was repugnant to the religious beliefs of the Hindus. As with other Indians, a conviction grew among the Indian soldiers that their religion was in danger.

Thus, the resentment against the foreign rule was growing among many sections of the people. The cartridges of a new rifle that was introduced were smeared with cows' and pigs' fat as grease, and the paper covering them had to be bitten off before the cartridge could be loaded into the rifle. The use of these greased cartridges offended the religious sentiments of both Hindu and Muslim soldiers and it became the immediate cause of the Revolt. The mutiny of the soldiers at Meerut had been sparked off on 9 May, 1857 when 85 Indian soldiers were convicted and sentenced to long periods of imprisonment because they refused to accept the greased cartridges.

Main Centres of the Revolt

With the capture of Delhi by the rebel forces and the proclamation of Bahadur Shah as Emperor of India, the Revolt spread over a wide area in the country. The Mughal Emperor who had actually been a non-entity suddenly became the rallying point of all those who wanted to put an end to the foreign rule. Even in regions where there was no large-scale uprising, unrest prevailed causing panic in the British ruling circles. There were uprisings in Assam, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar,



Bahadur Shah Zafar

Sindh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Hyderabad, Punjab and Bengal. At some of these places, the risings were localized or confined to army barracks and were easily suppressed. At some places the British had disarmed the Indian soldiers as a precaution.

The areas where the uprising was most widespread were Delhi, Awadh, Rohilkhand, Bundelkhand, the areas around Allahabad, Agra and Meerut and western Bihar. In these regions large masses of civilian population participated in the Revolt and the most ferocious battles were fought. In Bihar the rebel forces commanded by Kunwar Singh freed parts of Bihar and came to the help of the rebels in Lucknow and Kanpur. In Delhi, the chief commander of the troops was Bakht Khan. In Kanpur, Nana Sahib was proclaimed the Peshwa by the rebels with Azimullah as his chief adviser. Nana Sahib's troops were led by a brave and able leader Tatya Tope. In Jhansi, Rani Lakshmi Bai, widow of the deceased Raja, was proclaimed the ruler who led her troops into battle heroically. In the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh the rebels were joined by the Sikh Regiment from Ludhiana, and Gorakhpur and Azamgarh had to be evacuated by the British troops. Early in July, Birjis Qadr, the young son of Wajid Ali Shah, was

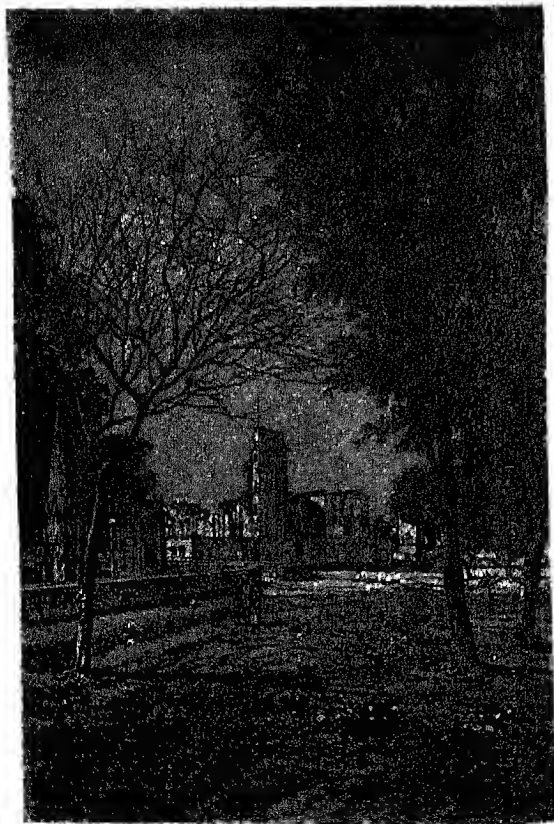


Tatya Tope

raised to the throne of Awadh under the regency of his mother Hazrat Mahal. The rebels besieged the Lucknow Residency and the siege lasted for many months.

Suppression of the Revolt

Throughout the Revolt, the Hindus and the Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder. The rebel leaders recognized



**Ruins of the
Lucknow Residency**

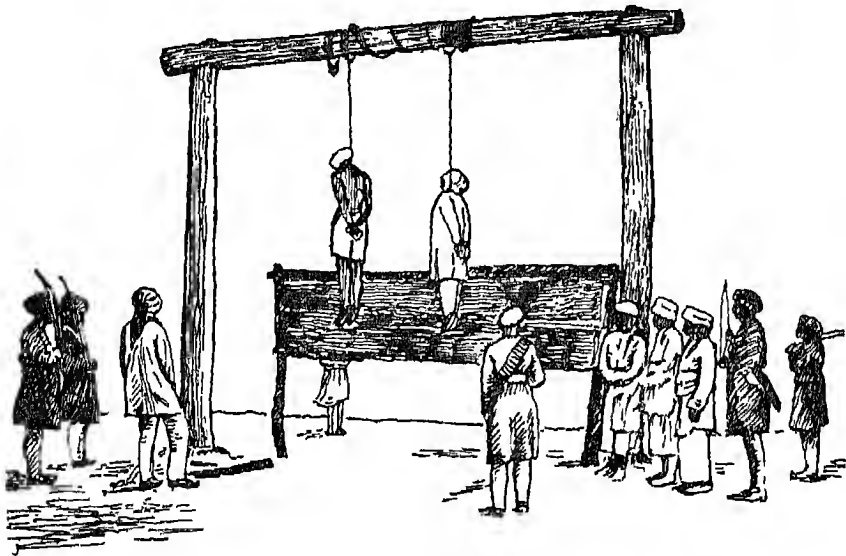
Bahadur Shah as the rightful emperor of India. He had emerged as the symbol of unity of all those who were fighting to overthrow the foreign rule. However, in spite of the widespread nature of the Revolt, within a little over a year it was suppressed. In September 1858, Lucknow fell to British troops and Begum Hazrat Mahal, refusing to surrender, escaped to Nepal. Rani Lakshmi Bai, who has become famous as the Rani of Jhansi, was driven out of Jhansi. With the help of Tatya Tope, she captured Gwalior and was killed there fighting in June 1858. Kunwar Singh died in April 1858 after sustaining a fatal wound. The fighting in Bihar continued under the leadership of his brother to the end of December 1859. Nana Sahib escaped into Nepal. Tatya Tope kept the British troops engaged for two years in central India and Rajputana. He was betrayed by a friend to the British and was hanged. The Revolt was crushed by the end of 1858 though it took the British many more years to restore peace.



Lakshmi Bai, Rani of Jhansi

The suppression of the Revolt was accompanied and followed by inhuman atrocities committed by the British

troops against the rebel leaders and soldiers and the common civilian population. During the Revolt the Indian soldiers also had committed at places acts of inhumanity against unarmed British population and prisoners of war. Now the victorious British armies resorted to systematic acts of brutality on a



The suppression of the Revolt of 1857 was accompanied by inhuman atrocities. Many rebels were tied to the mouth of the gun and blown off. Many were hanged.

large scale. Many villages were razed to the ground. A large number of people were executed. Inhuman tortures were inflicted on the rebels, most of whose leaders had been killed while fighting. Bahadur Shah's sons were captured and put to death. Bahadur Shah himself was tried and exiled to

Rangoon where he died in 1862. With him the Mughal dynasty came to an end.

Character of the Revolt

The Revolt of 1857 was a glorious chapter in the history of the Indian people. Much greater unity was achieved between different parts of the country against a common enemy than ever before. The Revolt produced many leaders and soldiers whose heroism and bravery made them legendary figures. Some of the heroes like Rani Lakshmi Bai, Tatya Tope and Bakht Khan became a source of inspiration and patriotism to the succeeding generations of Indian people in their fight for freedom.

The Revolt, however, had certain basic internal weaknesses which made its success unlikely. The leadership of the Revolt was in the hands of princes and landlords. The influence of these sections on Indian society had been nearly destroyed as a result of British conquest. Many of them were drawn into the Revolt as their survival was threatened by the British rule. They represented the traditional Indian political system and still clung to their old ideas. You have read of the vast social and political changes that had been taking place elsewhere in the world from the eighteenth century onwards. Though the leaders of the Revolt fought with the aim of overthrowing the foreign rule, they thought of replacing it with the old order.

The common people—soldiers, peasants, artisans and others—whose participation gave the Revolt its popular

character, were led by their traditional rulers whose power the foreign rule had undermined. They failed to develop an independent leadership and also independent social, economic and political aims of their own. In Europe, as you know, new movements of democracy, nationalism and social equality had been gaining strength. In Britain itself, the common people, including industrial workers who had emerged as a new social class, had organised themselves into a movement called the Chartist Movement. They were demanding equal political rights for all citizens and abolition of disparities in society. Many of their leaders, it would interest you to know, supported the aims of the Revolt in India and condemned the atrocities committed by the British troops on the Indian people. It was their view that the British domination of India benefited only the small upper sections of British society against whom the common people of Britain were themselves struggling. The Indian people heroically battling against the British were not yet aware of these developments in the world. Their leaders fought to restore their lost power and the old order which had long become obsolete. Moreover, the people still valued some backward ideas and social practices. This becomes clear from the fact that some of their grievances arose from the reform measures like the abolition of the practice of *sati* and legalization of widow remarriage.

The basic reason for this situation, as you have seen in the earlier chapters, was that no such groups had emerged in society as would fight for radical changes in social

and economic life, and cement the bonds of national unity among the people. These groups, mainly the middle classes, had just started emerging as a result of the British rule in some parts of India, particularly Bengal. They were, however, still weak though they had started working for reforms in society. When the Revolt broke out, these groups felt little sympathy with the rebels as they believed that only the British rule could reform the Indian society and modernize it. These hopes were, however, largely belied. In the years after the Revolt, the Indian national movement started taking shape with a view to liberate India from the foreign rule and to reconstruct the Indian society.

There were other weaknesses from which the Revolt suffered. The Mughal Emperor was accepted as Emperor of India by the rebels and all the rebels were united in their aim of overthrowing the British rule. But in practice, sufficient amount of unity was not achieved. Mostly, the rebels fought in their own regions. There was hardly any coordination among the forces fighting in different regions. Moreover, most of the Indian princes and chiefs who had been allowed to continue by the British sided with the British during the Revolt. Most of the old rulers and chiefs who fought in the Revolt were those who had been deprived of their territories. During the Revolt itself, some of them started negotiations with the British for the restoration of their rights and betrayed the rebels. In the areas that were freed from the British, very little was done for introducing good and efficient administration. The discontent against the

British rule was not very intense everywhere. In Punjab, for example, the British had established an orderly administration after years of war. The people there were not as dissatisfied as in other parts of northern India. Therefore, though there was sympathy for the rebels, there were no large-scale uprisings in Punjab.

The Revolt of 1857 marked the end of an era in Indian history. The Indian political order of the eighteenth century was destroyed finally. The Indian states that had not been annexed were allowed to exist but they lost their independent entity. They formed a part of the British empire for all practical purposes. The Company's rule was abolished and the British government began to rule their empire in India directly. Many changes took place in the British attitudes and policies in India about which you will read in the next chapter.

EXERCISES

I. Answer the following questions :

1. In what way was the Revolt of 1857 unprecedented ?
2. What were the causes of the discontent among the Indian rulers ?
3. How did the annexation of the Indian states by the British affect the economic life of the common people ?
4. Why were the social reforms initiated by the British resented by a section of Indian society ?

5. Enumerate the causes of discontent among the Indian soldiers of the British army which culminated in the Revolt of 1857.
 6. Name the regions where the uprising of the people in 1857 was most widespread.
 7. Name a few important leaders of the Revolt of 1857 and briefly describe their role.
 8. Why is it that the emerging middle class did not support the rebels ?
 9. What were the main causes of the failure of the Revolt of 1857 ?
- II. In the questions given below four possible answers have been given. Tick out the answer you consider correct. Give reasons for your choice.*
1. Which of the following statements explain best the nature of the Revolt of 1857 ?
 - A. The last effort of the old political order to regain its power.
 - B. Mutiny of a section of sepoys of the British army.
 - C. The struggle of the common people to overthrow the foreign rule.
 - D. An effort to establish a united Indian nation.
 2. Which one of the following factors was least responsible for the failure of the Revolt of 1857 ?
 - A. Absence of a developed political consciousness among the Indians.
 - B. Lack of support for the rebellion from the enlightened middle class.
 - C. Internal feuds and jealousies among the rebels.
 - D. Absence of a strong common leadership of the rebels.

III. Given below are a few statements about the happenings during the Revolt of 1857. Put mark (✓) if the statement is true and mark (×) if the statement is incorrect.

1. It was for the first time that in 1857 Indian soldiers of the British army revolted against the British.
2. The people of the country in the middle of the nineteenth century were aware of the significance of the Industrial Revolution.
3. Social reforms introduced by the British were readily accepted by the Indians.
4. Because of the new land systems introduced by the British, the old aristocracy was adversely effected.
5. Lack of essential unity was one of the causes of the failure of the Revolt.
6. Most of the Indian rulers joined the Revolt of 1857.

IV. Things to do :

1. Students may be asked to draw a diagram of the city of Delhi at the time of the Revolt of 1857 pointing out the places of importance associated with it. Students living in Delhi may read detailed work on the revolt in Delhi and visit important places connected with the revolt. On the basis of what they read and see, they may write a report reconstructing the events of the Revolt.
2. Draw an outline map of India and show in it the regions connected with the Revolt. Also indicate on the map the names of persons connected with the Revolt in different regions.

CHAPTER VIII

Reorganisation of the British Empire in India

WITH the suppression of the Revolt of 1857, many important changes took place in the British policy towards India. The relations between the British government in London and the British authorities in India were reorganised, and many important changes were introduced in the system of administration in India. A new phase began in the history of British rule in India which lasted for about fifty years. This period of fifty years also saw many changes in the economic, social and cultural life of the Indian people and the emergence of the Indian national movement. Of these you will read in the following chapters.

Many of the changes that you will read about now were introduced to make the British hold over India stronger and to prevent the outbreak of another revolt. The British rulers sought to strengthen their rule by winning over the Indian princes, the chiefs and landlords. They thought that with the support of these sections, they would be able to win the loyalty of the people. They also followed a policy

of suppressing the demands of the new social groups, particularly the middle class.

The Act of 1858 and the Queen's Proclamation

The new system of administration was laid down by an Act passed in August 1858. Canning, the Governor-General, announced it in a Durbar held at Allahabad on 1st November, 1858 where a Proclamation issued in the name of the British Queen was read out. At this time Victoria was the Queen of Britain. It was announced that thereafter India would be governed by and in the name of the British monarch through a Secretary of State. By that time, as you know, Britain had developed a parliamentary form of government. Parliament had become the supreme body which made laws and to which the British government was responsible. However, as the monarchy had been preserved, all government activities were carried on in the name of the monarch. You have read before that even before the Revolt of 1857, the real power of the East India Company in the governance of India had been declining and that of the British government had been increasing. In 1858, the influence of the Company was completely destroyed and the British government took over complete and direct control of the administration in India. The Governor-General was given the title of Viceroy which means the representative of the monarch.

The Proclamation also stated the intentions of the British Government in India. It promised to respect the rights of the Indian princes and disclaimed any intention of

extending British conquests in India. It also promised to pay due regard to the ancient rights, usages and customs of the people and follow a policy of justice, benevolence and religious toleration. The Proclamation further declared that all will be qualified to enter the administrative services on the basis of their education and ability irrespective of race and creed. Thus, while the Proclamation promised to the princes that they would be safe, it also promised the middle classes opportunities for advancement. However, it soon became evident that the promise of equality of opportunity to the new social groups was not meant to be implemented. In fact, many British administrators including some Viceroys thought that it was a mistake to make this promise. The promise with regard to the respect for ancient customs of India became a policy of preservation of social evils. The British came to believe that their rule could be preserved only by maintaining the old social order. It was fortunate that measures like the abolition of *sati* and making widow remarriage legal had been adopted before 1857 as the foreign rulers thereafter showed no interest in social reform and opposed it even when the Indian leaders made demands for it.

With the passing of India directly under the control of the British government in London, the interests of India were further subordinated to those of Britain. After the Industrial Revolution, the British industrialists had become the most dominant group in the political life of Britain. British empire had also started expanding in other parts of the world, particularly in Africa. They were also involved in

conflicts with other imperialist powers. In this situation, India was made to serve British economic interests. Indian resources were also utilized to serve the interests of the British Empire in other parts of the world and in costly wars against other countries.

Control over the Indian Government from England

Under the new system introduced after the Revolt, the Government of India came directly under the control of the British government. Before 1858, there were two bodies in Britain which controlled the British policies in India, viz. the Board of Control and the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Now a minister of the British government, called the Secretary of State for India, was given complete control over the Government of India. Like other ministers of the British government, he was responsible only to British Parliament. However, Parliament took little interest in the affairs of India. To advise the Secretary of State, the Indian Council was created. It was composed of members who had served in India and thus had a direct knowledge of the Indian conditions. However, this Council had no real powers and could only advise the Secretary of State who could ignore the advice of the Council on any matter.

Before 1857 the Governors-General generally acted on their own within the framework of the general policies laid down in Britain. Communication with Britain was difficult and also took a long time. After the Industrial Revolution, means of communication made great progress. The

steam vessel cut short the time it took to travel from Britain to India. In 1870, a direct telegraph line was laid down between India and Britain. This made communication very easy. It was no longer necessary to send the post by ship and await orders. Day-to-day consultations between the Government in India and the Secretary of State became possible. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, connecting the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea, greatly reduced the distance between Britain and India. One no longer had to travel all the way along the African coast through the Cape of Good Hope. These advances in the means of transport and communication reduced the freedom enjoyed by the earlier Governors-General of India. Now the Secretary of State could keep himself informed of the latest developments in India and exercise direct supervision on the administration of India.

The Secretary of State, thus, became an autocrat. He was not at all responsible to the Indian people and in practice even the Governor-General of India acted as his mere agent. He began to be considered the Grand Mughal. This meant complete subordination of the Government in India to the British government. The Government of India could not frame any policies without the consent of the British government. The interests of the British government, thus, became paramount in the governance of India. And the policies and interests of the British government were determined by the industrialists who were the most powerful section in British society.

Government of India

The Government of India was headed by the Governor-General who had also become the Viceroy. The power of making and implementing the policies in India, as you have read before, was vested in the Governor-General-in-Council. For purposes of implementing the policies, the Council consisted of the Governor-General, four ordinary members and the Commander-in-Chief of the army, who was an extra-ordinary member. This was called the Executive Council. In 1853, a Legislative Council was also set up to make laws. It comprised of six members in addition to the members of the Executive Council. There was a demand for including Indians as members of the Legislative Council but it was not accepted.

In 1861, an Act was passed which led to the reconstitution of this Council. A fifth ordinary member was added to the Executive Council but the powers of the Governor-General were increased. Each member of the Executive Council looked after a specific department of the government in consultation with the Governor-General. The Council as a whole could decide matters of general policy.

Another major change introduced by the Act of 1861 was with regard to the Legislative Council. Its membership was increased by the addition of six to twelve more members, half of whom had to be non-officials. They were nominated by the Governor General for a period of two years. Sometimes Indians were also nominated to this body. They were drawn from the upper sections of the society, like the

chiefs, big landlords, rich merchants, etc., and were nominated to the Council for their loyalty to the British rule.

The powers of the Legislative Council were limited. It could make laws but the Governor-General could veto any law passed by it. Even if the Governor-General approved an Act, the British government could disallow it. The Governor-General himself had vast powers of making laws. Many laws, in fact, were drafted in Britain which the Legislative Council later adopted. The members were nominated and not elected. Prior permission of the Governor-General was required to introduce Bills relating to many subjects like public revenue, army discipline and policy towards Indian States. The Legislative Council had no right to discuss certain subjects and ask questions.

According to the Act of 1861, the Executive Councils in the presidencies of Madras and Bombay were also enlarged to form Legislative Councils for making laws. The Governor-General was given the power to create similar Legislative Councils in Bengal, the North-Western Provinces (later called the United Provinces) and Punjab. Indians demanded that Legislative Councils should be created in every province, and should be given more powers. They also demanded that the members of the Councils should be elected by the people. However, no attention was paid to these demands.

The Act of 1861 provided the general structure of the government which continued for a long time. Changes were made from time to time within this general framework.

In 1892, another Act was passed, according to which the number of additional members in the Legislative Council was increased from 12 to 16. The official members, however, continued to be in majority in the Council. Even now the members of the Council were not elected by the people. This Act aimed at giving representation to certain sections of society like big merchants and to bodies like municipal committees. However, there was some increase in the powers of the Legislative Council. The members were now given the right to ask questions and discuss the budget.

In spite of the setting up of the Legislative Councils the Government of India remained autocratic in its character. Its primary aim was to protect and promote British economic and political interests in India. It also promoted various other interests like those of the British merchants, industrialists, planters and civil servants in India. These groups influenced the government to adopt policies which were often injurious to the interests of the Indian people. The people of India had neither any say in the running of the government nor was it run with any regard for their interests. The Legislative Councils included a few members of upper sections of Indian society, only to gain their support for the British rule.

Local Government

Besides the introduction of Legislative Councils at the centre and in some provinces, there were some important changes in the organisation of local government also. You

may have read in the earlier books about the local governments in towns and villages of ancient and medieval India and the importance of the village panchayat. As a result of the British conquest, the local governments had broken down. Little attention was paid to such matters of local importance as sanitation, roads, street lighting, water supply, etc., in the earlier part of the British rule. After 1857, municipalities began to be established in the towns. These committees levied local taxes to meet the expenditure on local administration and works. After 1882, committees called the District Boards were set up in the rural areas also. As you know only the people living in a locality really understand the problems of their locality and they are the best people to solve these problems. For this it is necessary that the committees managing local affairs are composed of the real representatives of local people who can effectively look after their problems. That is why local government, to be successful in solving local problems, has to be a self-government. However, the local bodies formed by the British consisted of officials without any elected members. After 1882, elected members were included but only the people with property could vote. The Indian leaders demanded the introduction of real local self-government down to the village level. Real advances in this direction had to await the coming of the Independence.

The Financial Administration

After 1857, the financial administration was also

reorganised. Earlier, there was no system of having a budget. Budgets, as you know, contain annual estimates of the revenues of the government from various items and its expenditure as well. There was also no proper system of distributing the revenues between the central and provincial governments. The government was also faced with the problem of increasing its revenues to meet the expenses of wars waged in the interests of British Empire. In 1860, the system of budget was introduced and the expected revenue from each item was listed. After some time a decision on the distribution of revenues between the central government and the provincial governments was also taken. The income from post-offices, railways, sale of opium and salt and customs duties was kept wholly by the central government. The income from other sources like the land revenue, stamp duties, excise, etc. was divided between the centre and the provinces. Attempts were made to increase the revenues of the government. The government had a monopoly over the production and sale of opium and salt. For taking a case to the law courts, a tax called the stamp duty was imposed. Similar stamp duties were imposed on business transactions. Cotton textile mills and some other industries were being established in India. Customs duty, a tax imposed on goods imported from other countries, helps in the growth of local industries. The British government in India imposed these duties but their rate varied from time to time. As a result of these duties, the sale of goods manufactured in Britain, particularly cotton cloth, suffered. Under pressure

from the British manufacturers these duties were abolished in 1882. However, the government had to reimpose these duties in 1894 to meet the loss of revenue. But the British government forced the government in India to impose an equivalent excise duty on Indian manufactures also so that the sale of British goods in India did not suffer. Income tax also was introduced in 1860 but was later abolished for some years and then reimposed. The people of India had to pay all these taxes to a government which was not responsible to them but which was run to protect and promote the interests of Britain.

Changes in the Organisation of Army

Indian soldiers, as you have seen, had played a prominent part in the Revolt of 1857. The British government reorganised the army to prevent the recurrence of a similar revolt. It was decided to exclude Indian soldiers from the artillery and the arsenals. The number of European soldiers was also increased. For every two Indian soldiers, there was one European soldier. Later, this was slightly changed to five Indian soldiers for two Europeans, and the system continued up to the beginning of the First World War in 1914. All officers were of course Europeans. To further safeguard their position, the policy of 'divide and rule' was introduced. Companies of troops belonging to different regions, caste groups or tribes, were combined in forming a regiment. The idea was that if one company revolted, others could be used to suppress it. Another step in this direction was in

limiting recruitment to the army to certain regions and groups. The British divided the Indian people into martial and non-martial races. The recruitment was increasingly made from the so called martial races. The division was designed to create disunity among the people.

Certain other changes were introduced in the organisation of the army. Earlier, the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras recruited and maintained separate armies. The army of each Presidency consisted of Indian soldiers, units of European soldiers recruited by the Company and the regiments of the British Army. After 1858, the units of European soldiers and those of the British army were combined. In 1859, the entire army of the British government in India was brought under the control of the Commander-in-Chief. The position of the Commander-in-Chief was further strengthened when Kitchener became the Commander-in-Chief. In the Executive Council of the Governor-General, there was an ordinary member in charge of the army and the Commander-in-Chief was an extra-ordinary member. Sometimes conflict arose between the two. In 1904, Kitchener recommended that the army administration should be completely under the control of the Commander-in-Chief and the post of the ordinary member in charge of the army in the Executive Council should be abolished. The recommendation was opposed by the then Governor-General Curzon who said that it would weaken civilian control over the army. However, Kitchener's recommendation was accepted

by the British government and Curzon resigned from Governor-Generalship.

The British government made use of the army in India not only to maintain its domination over India but also to extend the empire in other parts of the world. Indian soldiers were sent to fight for British Empire in Afghanistan, Burma and many other places. Many Indian nationalist leaders protested against the use of Indian soldiers and resources by the British against other peoples.

Civil Services

To rule the country, a civil service had been created, as you have seen before, which came to be known as the steel-frame of the British Empire. All the important posts in the government were filled by persons belonging to this civil service. In 1853, as you have read, members of the civil service began to be recruited on the basis of competitive examinations which were held in England. Very few Indians could appear in these examinations as they were held in England. Indians faced many other difficulties. The medium of examination was English and the Indian candidates had to live in a completely different environment if they wished to compete.

The age for appearing in these examinations was 23 years in 1853. It was reduced to 21 in 1866 and 19 in 1876. This made it even more difficult for Indians to compete successfully with British candidates. In the Queen's Proclamation, it had been promised that Indians would be given

equality of opportunity in joining the services. However, in practice, the services were monopolised by the British. In fact, there were Governors-General who suggested that Indians should be debarred from the higher services. They considered that the promise of equality made in the Proclamation was a great mistake. Because of this, very few Indians could enter the Civil Service. Educated Indians demanded that the age-limits for the competition be raised and that the examinations should be held simultaneously in England and in India. However, the British government and British officials including the Governors-General were hostile towards educated Indians. They did not want educated Indians to feel that they were equals. One of the characteristics of foreign rule everywhere is that the foreign rulers consider themselves superior to the local people. The foreign officials are taught to think of the people they rule as belonging to an inferior race over whom they have a right to rule. This attitude further widens the gap between the rulers and the ruled. It breeds in the rulers racial arrogance and a contempt for the people over whom they rule. The British civil servants who played an important role in framing and executing the policies of the government in India exercised an evil influence on the government. They adopted attitudes which sometimes shocked even their governments in India and Britain. For example, in 1876, a British lawyer beat his Indian servant so severely that the servant died of injuries. The only punishment he received was a fine of Rs. 30/-. Such cases were very frequent and sometimes the government itself was compelled to intervene. In 1883,

during the governor-generalship of Ripon, a Bill was introduced which aimed at removing the discrimination between Indian and European judges. This was known as the Ilbert Bill which stated that Indian judges could try Europeans if the case fell within their jurisdiction. This Bill aroused such protests among the Europeans, including civil servants in India that the government had to withdraw the Bill in that form.

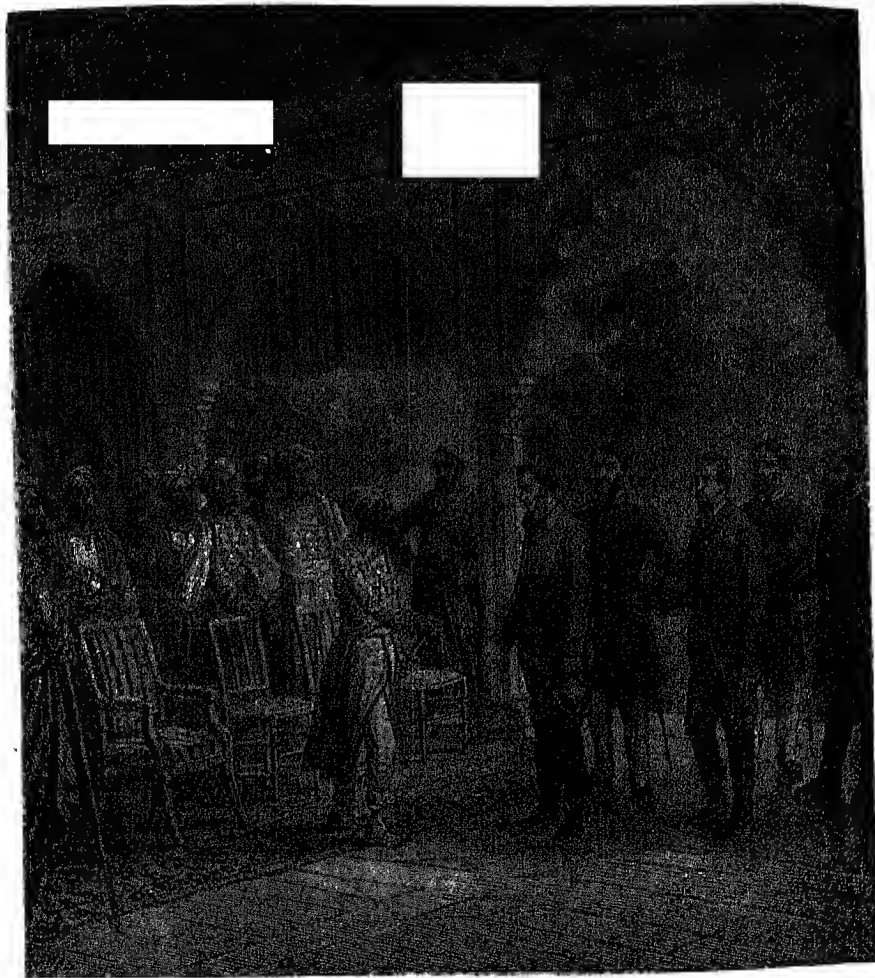
Educated Indians, as you have seen before, had been demanding that they should be given a place in the civil service. Their demands were not listened to. But in 1879 a new service was created to which some Indians could be recruited every year. However, the selection was not based on competition. They were selected from what the British considered good families, that is from such upper sections of society as supported the British rule. After 1886, three different types of services were introduced. One was the old civil service called the Civil Service of India. The highest officials were drawn from this service and they were predominantly Englishmen. In provinces, a civil service was created named after the province, for example, the Bengal Civil Service. There was another service which was mainly related to professional work, such as the Education Service.

One of the important features of the British rule was the domination of bureaucracy. The bureaucrats felt they were above the people. Though some of them worked hard, the basic idea was of *ruling over* people, and not working to promote their welfare.

British Policy Towards Indian Princes

After 1857, as has been stated before, the British government adopted the policy of maintaining Indian princes in the hope of strengthening their own rule. You have read before of the Queen's Proclamation which promised not to extend the British territories in India and to respect the rights, dignity and honour of the Indian princes. The British government in India found in the princes their allies. Many *jagirdaris* were raised to the status of princely states. There were 562 states ruled by Indian princes. Some of these were very small with an area of one square mile and a population not exceeding 100 persons. There were others like Kashmir and Hyderabad which were as big as Britain itself. Thus, after 1857, India was divided into two parts—the British India governed directly by the British government through the Government of India and the Indian states ruled by Indian princes.

Before 1857, the relations between the British government in India and the Indian states varied from state to state, depending on the type of treaty signed between them. Some states considered themselves completely independent, having a status of equality with the British government in India. Some others were treated as subordinate states of the British government in India. After 1858, these relations were transformed. Indian states were on the one hand promised that they would not be annexed and on the other hand they were subordinated to the British government. The subordination of the Indian states to the British government



The rulers of Indian states lost their independence. They became loyal supporters of the British rule in India.

was based on the Principle of Paramountcy. According to this, British authority in India was paramount and supreme. The British Paramountcy in India was clearly stated in the Act of 1876 by which Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India from 1 January, 1877. When a terrible famine raged in many parts of India, an Imperial Assembly was held, where the Indian princes were busy showing off their wealth. The assumption of the title of the Empress of India by Queen Victoria was announced at this Imperial Assembly.

With the emergence of the British government as the paramount authority in India, the power and status of the Indian princes was further reduced. Now it was the responsibility of the British government in India to protect the Indian states from internal as well as external dangers. This gave the British government unlimited power to intervene in the internal affairs of the Indian states. Each succession in a state had to be approved by the British monarch or the monarch's representative in India, the Viceroy. Disputes over succession were settled by the British government. If the ruler was a minor, the state was ruled by the British. In case of a rebellion or mismanagement, the British could depose the ruler and appoint a successor. In all such cases, the state was not annexed; only a successor was appointed. The Indian states had no international status. They could not establish relations with other countries. Governor-General Curzon even banned foreign travel by Indian princes without his permission. The British government prescribed the number

of troops that an Indian state could maintain. These troops were under the control of British officers. People of these states travelling or residing in other countries were treated as subjects of the British Empire. The railways, telegraphs and the postal systems in the states were under the control of the British government. The rulers of the states were not free even in their internal affairs. The British government could intervene to check inhuman practices and to prevent misrule. Thus the British were able to bring the Indian princes completely under their authority and thus destroy their power. The states no longer remained a danger to the British rule. On the contrary, they were looked upon as providing support to the British rule.

The Indian princes accepted their loss of independence as their states were now safe from annexation. They were safe also from their own people because if their people revolted, the British government would come to their aid. Most of the princes treated their states as their personal property and made no efforts to improve the condition of the people. They lived in great luxury paying little attention to the work of administration. Sometimes the administration of their states was so poor that the British government had to intervene. While the territories under the British had uniform administration and laws, each princely state developed its own system. The British government maintained these states to divide the Indian people because in many respects, the condition of the people in the states was much worse than in British India. The princes gathered together frequently in *durbars* etc., to make ostentatious display of their wealth and

received titles from the British government. They became loyal supporters of the British rule as they were dependent on it for their existence.

The British Policy of 'Divide and Rule'

Every imperialist country seeks to maintain its rule over the conquered people by dividing them. This is done by exploiting the differences that may exist among the latter and by creating differences where none exist by favouring one section against another, and by using one section against another. The British, as you have seen before, sought to strengthen their rule on the support of the princes and the landlords. In many parts of the country, where under the changed land systems, landlords had ceased to exist, attempts were made to create new landlords. In Awadh, lands were restored to the *taluqdars* after the Revolt of 1857 was suppressed. The British gave jobs to the sons of landlords and discriminated against the new middle classes. By creating landlords, they on the one hand tried to strengthen their rule by gaining the support of the landlords and on the other hand created further division in Indian society. By their policy towards Indian states, they divided the Indian people into two—the people of the Indian states and the people of British India. In their military administration, as you have seen, they followed the same policy. They also sought to perpetuate the differences that existed in the Indian society on the basis of caste and religion by refusing to introduce social reforms after 1857. You have seen how in the Revolt of 1857, Hindus and Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder against the British.

After 1858, the British followed a systematic policy of dividing Hindus and Muslims. Muslims were held to be the chief enemies of the British and responsible for the 1857 Revolt. They were discriminated against Hindus in the services. In their works of history, they tried to show that the Muslims had been the oppressors of the Hindus and that the interests of the Hindus could be served only by being loyal to the British rule. Later on, the anti-Muslim policy was reversed. The British government started favouring the upper class Muslims against the Hindus. However, the objective of the British policy remained the same—to create disunity between Hindus and Muslims. Later on, when the nationalist movement representing the aspirations of the Indian people began, they encouraged the formation of parties based on religion and thus, tried to weaken the struggle for independence.

Policy towards Afghanistan and Burma

The foreign policy of the Government of India was a part of the foreign policy of the British Government in London and its main objective was to strengthen the British hold over India. The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of imperialist expansion. Many European powers launched wars of conquest against other peoples. There was a scramble for colonies and the imperialist countries often came into conflict with one another. The British government used the resources of India and the Indian soldiers in their imperialist wars, and for interfering in the internal affairs of other countries.



MOUNTAINTERS OF THE NORTH WEST FIRING AT THE BRITISH

The people of the north-western parts of India could never be completely subjugated.

In this illustration, they are shown firing at the British troops.

The Russian Empire had been expanding in Central Asia in the nineteenth century. The British were alarmed at the expansion of Russia. They tried to increase their influence in Afghanistan to check the Russian advance. Afghanistan was ruled by a capable king Dost Mohammad. After his death, there were internal troubles in Afghanistan. The British tried to establish their influence there and invaded Afghanistan in 1878. Though peace was restored after some time, the British continued to try to establish their influence in Afghanistan.

The British also tried to establish their control over the tribes that lived in the region between India and Afghanistan. The boundary between India and Afghanistan was demarcated. The British government frequently sent troops in the border areas to suppress the tribes on the north-western frontier. However, the people of the north-western frontier continued to rebel against the British authority. The frontier areas were separated from the Punjab and made a province called the North-West Frontier Province. The British built railways and roads to bring these areas under their effective control. They often resorted to terror, including bombing from air but they failed to bring the freedom loving tribes of the north-west completely under their control.

You have already read of the British annexation of parts of Burma. The old ruling dynasty of Burma continued to rule in upper Burma. The Burmese king was not reconciled to the loss of a large part of Burma to the British. In the meantime, France had started increasing her imperialist influence in south-east Asia. In the 1880s, the French had

established their rule over Indo-China and they were beginning to increase their influence in Upper Burma. The British were alarmed at the growth of French influence and they asked the Burmese king to accept British control over Burma's foreign policy and the stationing of a British Resident at his capital, Mandalay. On his refusal to accept the British demands, the British troops invaded Burma in 1885 and annexed it. Though for many years, the Burmese continued to resist the British rule, ultimately Burma was made a province of British India.

Thus the British policy after the Revolt of 1857 underwent many changes. The control of India passed on completely to the British government. Britain ruled India for her own economic and imperial interests. In many respects the British policy in India after 1857 was worse than it was before. The policy of reforms was given up. The British rulers thought that their rule could be best maintained by keeping India backward. Therefore, the sections that the British government in India supported were mainly the princes and the landlords. Other Indians, particularly the educated ones, were looked down upon. They had no say in the administration of the country. In the meantime, the nationalist movement had started growing in India. By 1905, it had grown so strong that the British government could not ignore it any more. With this another phase of British rule in India came to an end.

EXERCISES

I. Answer the following questions :

1. What were the main guiding principles for formulation of policies by the British government after the Revolt of 1857 ?
2. What changes were introduced in the method of control of the government of India from Britain after the Proclamation of 1858 ?
3. Mention the promises made to the Indian people in the Proclamation of 1858.
4. How was the position of the Governor-General changed after the creation of the post of the Secretary of State ?
5. What was the structure of the Viceroy's Executive Council ? Trace its growth and functions from 1853 to 1892.
6. Mention the changes in the local administration introduced in 1882.
7. What were the main sources of revenue of the government ? How were these distributed between the central and the provincial governments ?
8. Why was the ratio of European soldiers in the British army raised after 1857 ?
9. How was the principle of 'divide and rule' applied in the organisation of the army ?
10. Why was it difficult for Indians to enter the Civil Service ?
11. In what way did the relationship between the British Government and Indian princes change after the Proclamation of 1858 ?
12. How did the British practise the policy of 'Divide and Rule' ?
13. Mention the reasons behind British policies towards Afghanistan and Burma.

II. Answer the following questions in detail. Try to get information to answer these questions in detail from other books.

1. In the Proclamation of 1858 it was stated that equal opportunities would be given to all Indians. How far was the promise kept? Discuss.
2. It has been stated that 'In many respects the British policies in India after 1857 were worse than before'. Discuss the statement giving concrete examples from the policies adopted in respect of civil, military, judicial and local administration and social reforms.

III. In column 'A' are given some Acts and in column 'B' provisions of the Acts. Rearrange the provisions in column 'B' so as to correspond with the Acts in column 'A'.

A	B
1. ✓ Act of 1858	1. Queen Victoria was proclaimed as the Empress of India. ✓
2. Act of 1861	2. The members of the legislative councils were allowed to discuss the budget.
3. Act of 1876	3. Elected members were included in the municipalities.
4. Act of 1882	4. The provincial and the educational services were created.
5. Act of 1892	5. The Legislative Council was enlarged by the addition of 6 to 12 more members. ✓
	6. The post of the Secretary of State was created.
	7. The distribution of revenue between the centre and the provinces was made.

IV. Things to do :

1. Draw an outline map of India showing the boundaries of the British India as they existed in 1858.
2. Procure a copy of the text of the Proclamation of 1858 and mark in it the provisions that related to
 - (1) the changes in central administration,
 - (2) the relationship between the British government and the people of India, and
 - (3) the relationship between the British government and the Indian princes.

CHAPTER IX

Rise of the Indian National Movement

YOU HAVE read in the previous chapters about the Revolt of 1857 and the changes in British policy towards India following its suppression. For many years afterwards, armed uprisings continued to break out in different parts of the country against British rule. You have already read of the revolt started by Syed Ahmed Bareilvi. The rebellious movement that he led was called the Wahabi movement. This revolt continued for many years even after the suppression of the Revolt of 1857. It took the British thousands of troops to finally suppress it in the 1870s. Some of the Wahabi leaders founded a school at Deoband (near Saharanpur). They laid down that the school would not accept any monetary help from the British government or its supporters. The school continued to instil among its pupils a love for freedom. Another important uprising took place in Punjab. The Sikhs of Punjab organized the Kuka movement and tried to overthrow the British rule in Punjab. The revolt was brutally suppressed in 1872 and many rebels were executed. There

were many more revolts to overthrow the British rule—some confined to small areas and groups, others more widespread.

Origin of National Consciousness

Besides these revolts, there gradually grew in India a movement which expressed the aspirations of the Indian people as a *nation*. Therefore, it is called the Indian National Movement. It was more widespread than any of the previous revolts and movements and represented demands not of one section or community or region but of the entire nation. With this, the struggle for independence became national in character. It united the Indian people into one entity as nothing else had done before.

You have read in your books on 'Ancient India' and 'Medieval India' how through the long course of their history the people of India had developed a rich common culture. Great and mighty emperors like Ashoka and Akbar had brought together large parts of India under one empire. There were also long periods of political disunity. In the eighteenth century the country was divided into a number of small and big kingdoms which fought against one another each trying to preserve and strengthen itself against the rest. You are also familiar with the conditions because of which the British were able to establish their rule over India. It has been stated before that these conditions existed not merely because of the disunity among the rulers but mainly because the factors that unite a people were absent.

Each village had an isolated existence and developments in one region had little influence on the life of the people in other regions. There was no common economic life because the economic life of the people in one place was not connected with the economic life in other places. Thus, India was not one economic unit.

There were many other reasons of disunity also, like the caste system. However, this lack of unity in society did not mean that the people fought against one another or hated one another. On the contrary, the growth of a common culture was a factor of unity. There was, as there still is, a wide variety in religious beliefs, customs, languages and arts, and each religion, custom, language and style of art influenced and was also influenced by others. This 'give and take' process had been an important feature of the culture of the Indian people. This had created a spirit of mutual tolerance and respect amongst people belonging to different communities and regions. The conflicts and wars among rulers did not generally affect the fabric of cultural unity and did not create conflicts among the common people. When we speak of a lack of unity, we mean that in the day-to-day life, the people lived in isolation from one another. The latent unity which existed among the people of India began to surface in the nineteenth century.

Nationalism in Europe

You have read earlier of the rise of nationalism and the formation of nation-states in Europe. A very important factor in the rise of nationalism was the growth of the middle

class which then meant groups of people engaged in trade and commerce. In many countries of Europe, in the beginning these groups supported the kings of their respective countries in destroying the power of the feudal lords. The kings in their turn promoted the interests of these groups inside and outside their countries. Inside the country it was done by uniting the entire country under one rule and by abolishing restrictions on trade and commerce. Outside, the king protected the interests of traders of his country against the rival traders of other countries. Gradually, the people living in a country under their king and having a common culture began to have common social and economic aspirations, distinct from those of the people of other countries. This is how *nation-states* were formed. Countries which were under the domination of other countries struggled to become independent nations. You have read of the war of independence which the people of the British colonies in North America waged against the British rule, resulting in the establishment of the United States of America.

When the nation-states were formed, the people constituting the nation struggled for the establishment of democratic forms of government. They demanded that the government of their country should be elected by them and should be responsible to them alone. As a result, the powers of the kings were destroyed in many countries. In France, after the revolution of 1789, monarchy was abolished. The French revolution also proclaimed the equality of men everywhere. As a result of these developments, the ideas of nationalism and democracy became inseparable. People belonging to a

nation that was divided into small political units or were under foreign domination began to organise movements for national unification, independence and democracy. Rise of nationalism and democracy was the most important feature of the history of Europe in the nineteenth century.

Antagonism of the Indian People to British Rule

Indian nationalism arose out of the conditions created by the British rule. You have seen before that British ruled India to preserve and promote her own political and economic interests. These interests were mainly those of industrialists and other upper sections of British society that dominated British economic and political life. (In Britain as has been mentioned before, the common people had begun to organise themselves to fight for equality in society and against the domination of the upper classes).

India was treated by the British rulers as a field of exploitation and there was nothing common between the interests of Indian people and the aims for which Britain subjugated India. There were, of course, certain sections among Indians, about whom you have read before, that were supported by the British with a view to strengthen the British rule. With the exception of these sections, the entire Indian people had no sympathy for the British rule. The changes that took place in social, economic and political life of India under the British rule helped the people to unite and organise a national movement against the British. These changes were the result of policies that Britain pursued in India to promote her own interests. But their consequence was to unite the people against the British rule. The British rule thus unknowingly created conditions for its own destruction.

Political and Administrative Unification

Under the British rule, almost the entire country was united as one political unit. There were the Indian princely states but they were also under the paramount control of the British government. In many things like posts and telegraphs and railways, there was no difference between the territories directly under the British rule and those under the Indian princes. The political unification of India, though achieved under foreign rulers and for their benefit, was an important development. A uniform system of administration all over the British-ruled territories further added to the political unification. The laws were made uniform and, in theory at least, applied to everyone equally. Equality before law was a factor of unity as in the eyes of law everyone, at least in theory, enjoyed the same rights. People living in different parts of the country under a common administration and governed by the same laws, began to consider themselves as one people. This helped in uniting the people.

Economic Changes

You have already read of some of the important changes in economic life up to 1857. One of these was that the village had ceased to live in isolation. It had begun to lose its self-sufficiency. Many of the things that people in the village used were no longer produced within the village. They were procured from outside the village. Some were produced at places hundreds of miles away. With the growth in the means of transport, the isolation and self-sufficiency of villages was further reduced. The first railway was built in 1853 connecting Bombay and Thana. Thereafter, the railways made a very rapid progress. With this, the movement of

goods and people from one place in the country to another was made much easier and quicker than ever before. This helped in bringing about an interdependence between different parts of the country and the growth of a common economic life. Cultivation of crops like cotton that were used as raw material in industries increased. People producing these crops had to depend for their food supplies on other places. Many of these changes were forced on the people by the British and caused much suffering. However, the growth of interdependence was an important factor in uniting the people and developing in them common aspirations.

Another important development in the economic life was the rise of modern industry in India. You have read before that the Indian crafts were destroyed as a result of British economic policies. India was treated as a market for British manufactures. The railways had been built primarily with a view to facilitate the movement of raw materials to the ports for export to feed the industries in Britain and to open new markets for British manufactures throughout the length and breadth of the country. However, the railways indirectly helped in the establishment of modern industries in India. In 1850s, the first cotton mills were started. Around the same time, jute mills and coal mines were also started. Some of these new industries gradually grew in number and in 1895 there were 144 cotton mills, 29 jute mills and 123 mines in India employing thousands of workers. The development of industries in India was very slow due to the policy followed by the British government. No encouragement was given to Indian industries. No industries were started to build machines in India and these

were imported from Britain. But even though the growth of modern industries in India was slow and was also made dependent on British economy, it marked a very important change in the economic life.

Modern trade and industries are great unifying forces. They bring different parts of a country in close contact. Even if an industry is situated in an isolated part of the country, the raw material for it may be produced in areas far away from there. Similarly, the goods that a factory produces are not all consumed by people living near the place of their production. Thus different areas of the country become interdependent and are brought closer to one another. Such an interdependence contributes to the growth of unity among people. Modern industries also lead to the growth of big industrial towns where large numbers of people work together. People working in industries come from many different parts of the country and belong to different castes and creeds. Conditions are created where differences of caste, community or region tend to disappear. Working together in factories creates a sense of solidarity among people. It makes possible for people to combine and to start movements in support of their own specific as well as common demands together with people in other parts of the country. In fact, cities become the breeding grounds for political movements. Because of these reasons, the growth of industries is of very great importance in uniting a people into a nation. The modern industries that began to develop in India in the second half of the nineteenth century helped in the growth of national consciousness.

Growth of National Consciousness

With these economic changes, new classes arose in Indian society. You have already read of the origin of the middle class. Some people belonging to this class were engaged in trade. Later they also started modern industries. Others were employed in administration or were engaged in professions as teachers, lawyers, writers, journalists, doctors, etc. Besides political and administrative unification, the growth of trade and industry also united them. They realised that their interests were common. They began to consider themselves as citizens of the same nation. For example, the Indian owners of textile factories were equally affected by the economic policies followed by the British government in India. Similarly, educated Indians who wished to join the services were equally affected by the British government's policies with regard to recruitment to services.

The spread of modern education was an important factor in the promotion of national consciousness. In an earlier chapter you have read about the beginning of modern education in India. It was introduced mainly with a view to recruit some Indians to lower jobs in the administration. The British rulers also believed that Indians getting education through the medium of English would become supporters of the British rule. Indian leaders like Rammohun Roy had, however, welcomed introduction of modern education for a different reason. In their view, the spread of English education was important as it would bring the advanced knowledge of the world to the people of India. Because of this, Indian leaders themselves made efforts for the spread of modern education.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a significant expansion of education in India. Educated Indians became familiar with the literature in European languages as well as with happenings elsewhere in the world. As you know, revolutionary changes were taking place in the West in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. You have already read about the American and French Revolutions. Great thinkers of the West wrote works advocating ideas of democracy, equality and nationalism. Some of these thinkers were Voltaire, Rousseau, Thomas Paine, John Stuart Mill. The American Declaration of Independence and the French revolutionaries' Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen gave forceful expression to the new revolutionary ideas. For example, in the Declaration of Independence it was stated, "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inherent and inalienable rights, that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it."

The British rulers tried in schools and colleges to propagate ideas of loyalty to their government. However the effect of education was quite the contrary. Education opened the gates of modern knowledge to Indians and they began to imbibe a nationalist and democratic outlook. They were attracted to and influenced by thinkers like Thomas Paine and Rousseau, and by Garibaldi and Mazzini who had fought for the independence and unification of Italy.

The educated Indians all over the country began to develop a common outlook on the problems of their country. Influenced by democratic and nationalist ideas, they began to see problems from the point of view, not of their respective regions but of the entire nation. With the growth of a common outlook they also began to come together to discuss the problems facing Indian society. As higher education was imparted in English, all the educated Indians knew English language. This also helped, because it made communication between the educated people of different parts of the country easier.

The educated Indians played a leading role in spreading nationalist ideas all over the country. They translated European works into Indian languages and they themselves wrote books and brought out journals. They threw light on India's economic, social and political problems. These helped in spreading among the people an awareness of the problems of Indian society and the effects of the British rule on India. They also realised the need to organise the people on political, economic and social issues on an all India basis. Novels, plays and poems were also written to spread national consciousness and an awareness of contemporary problems.

The study made of India's past by European scholars has been mentioned before. Many Indian scholars also took to the study of India's past history. The large number of historical works that were written brought to the people the knowledge of the great achievements of India in the past in art, government, science, philosophy, literature, etc. This knowledge helped instil in the people a sense of pride in their country. It

gave them confidence and hope and developed in them the determination to work for a better future.

As you have read before, there were many evils in Indian society like the ill-treatment of what were called the lower castes, superstitions, and narrowness of outlook, miserable condition of women, etc. You have read of the efforts of early reformers like Rammohun Roy in removing these evils. There were movements of reform in every part of the country in every community. Of these you will read in detail later. These movements helped in ridding Indian society of many evils and in promoting a sense of unity.

Discontent Against British Rule

It has been said before that there was a basic antagonism between the interests of the Indian people and those of the British rulers. In a previous chapter you have read about the suffering that British policies caused to the peasants. The artisans and the craftsmen were also ruined. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Indian people fell victim to many disasters. There were frequent and widespread famines. Over 25 million people are estimated to have died in these famines during the second half of the nineteenth century. This is an indication of the extent of poverty caused by the policies followed by the British rulers. Another example of the total disregard of Indian interests is the oppression perpetrated by the indigo planters. British planters forced the peasants to cultivate indigo against their will and sell it at a price fixed by them. Those who showed reluctance or refused to grow indigo were tortured and imprisoned.

Indian industries also could not develop fast because the interests of British industrialists were held supreme. The British policy was to reduce India to the position of a supplier of cheap raw materials for British industries and serve as a market for British goods. You have seen one example of this in the last chapter with regard to the duties on imports. With the growth of national consciousness, the people saw that the British rule was the major cause of India's poverty. The educated Indians who had initially hoped that the British rule would help in the development of Indian industries increasingly realised that their hopes were misplaced. The British rule was only adding to India's poverty.

The heavy cost of running the British rule in India was borne by the Indian people. The wars waged against other countries by the British government in India led to greater exploitation of India. The expenditure on the huge army that the British maintained in India to suppress Indian people and to wage wars against countries with whom Indian people had no conflict, was met from the taxes collected from the Indian people. While Indian resources were thus spent on purposes that were of no benefit to the Indian people, things demanding attention like irrigation, education and other welfare needs were neglected. Demands began to be raised for reduction in government expenditure on such things as the army, and for lessening the tax burdens on the people.

You have already read about the pattern of government established by the British in India. Indians had no say in running the government of their country. You have also read of the British attitude with regard to the recruitment of

Indians to services. The British rulers looked upon even the highly educated Indians with contempt. Some Viceroys even suggested putting a ban on the appearance of Indians in the competitive examinations for the Civil Service. They were always afraid of what they called the wits of educated Indians and tried to exclude them from service even after they had successfully competed in the examinations. The result of this was an increasing unemployment among educated Indians. This led to greater discontent against the British rule.

It is difficult for us today to imagine the humiliations that the Indians were made to suffer under foreign rule. Racial hatred for the subject people is common to all imperialists. It breeds in the ruling sections of the ruling country an attitude of racial superiority. They begin to think that God has specially created them to rule over inferior races. They treat the people of the subject country as subhumans. All these things were a common feature of the British rule. Indians, even those who were rich or occupied important positions like judges, were insulted. Common people were beaten up and tortured. If a servant was killed after being beaten up by his English master, the English judge trying him would let him off with a small fine. There were places where Indians were not allowed to enter. In the railway trains, for example, there were compartments reserved for whites only. There were hospitals where Indian patients were not admitted. There were parks exclusively for Europeans. Resentment against these humiliations began to be expressed with the growth of national consciousness.

The basic freedoms like those of thought, speech and expression began to be curbed to suppress the growth of nationalism. Newspapers were suppressed. Books were banned. For example, a book on the life of the leader of Italian unification, Mazzini, was banned. Even some books written by Englishmen were banned. However, with all the suppression, the awakening of the Indian people to a national consciousness and awareness of their rights could not be subdued. It soon began to be expressed in an organized form through nation-wide associations. They were started to give expression to specific grievances and demands. Gradually they developed into a united nation-wide movement for complete independence from foreign rule.

The most important of the early organisations was the Indian Association which was formed in Calcutta in 1876.

It was led by Surendra-nath Banerjee. He was selected into the Indian Civil Service but had been dismissed on flimsy grounds. He devoted the rest of his life in uniting the Indian people. He was one of the first Indian leaders to bring together people from every part of the country to express India's



opposition to British policies. Under his leadership,

the Indian Association organised protests against the I. C. S. regulations, restrictions on the press and other oppressive measures of the British government. You have already read of the government's surrender over the Ilbert Bill. A measure that was designed to establish equality of Indian and British judges could not be passed in the face of opposition from British community in India. However, the government's surrender further opened the eyes of the people to the anti-Indian nature of the British rule. It also taught the Indian people the value of united action. In 1883, Surendra-nath Banerjee was sentenced to two months' imprisonment. This further infuriated the people. These developments were accompanied by the growth of political activities all over the country. They paved the way for the formation of an organisation that became even more representative of the Indian people. This was the Indian National Congress. It became the chief organisation representing the will of the Indian people and led the Indian people in their struggle for freedom.

The Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 and its first session was held at Bombay in December of that year. A. O. Hume, a retired British official in India, played a leading role in the formation of the Congress. He established contact with important Indian leaders all over the country and got their cooperation for the formation of the Congress. He knew that the unrest against the British rule was growing and thought that unless an organisation was formed to

ventilate Indian opinion, it might burst into a rebellion. The need for forming an all-India organisation had long been felt and Surendranath Banerjee had already made efforts in that direction. Soon after the formation of the Congress, many of the other organisations lost their importance and most of their leaders joined the Congress.

The first President of the Congress was W.C. Bonnerjee. The aims of the Congress were to bring together national leaders and to unite the people for common political ends irrespective of difference of religion, race, language and region. The first session of the Congress was attended by a large number of people from different parts of the country. Some of the important leaders who attended the session included Dadabhai Naoroji, Badr-ud-din Tyabji, Subramania Iyer and Dinsha Wacha. The Congress at its first session



Dadabhai Naoroji

demanding the creation of Legislative Councils in provinces where they did not exist, election of members to the Legislative Councils, reduction in military expenditure, holding of examinations for Civil Services simultaneously in India and England, raising the age-limit of candidates, etc. The British rulers hoped that the Congress would be loyal to them and, therefore, many officials attended the session at Bombay.

The Congress held its sessions every year in the month of December, each time in a different part of the country. The number of delegates attending the sessions steadily increased. The delegates to the annual sessions were elected by local organisations. Thus its character became increasingly representative. The second session held at Calcutta was attended by about 440 delegates. It was presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji. He was one of the foremost leaders of the national movement. He had earlier formed an organisation during his stay in Britain to win over British leaders and public in support of Indian demands. He became President of the Congress thrice. He was also elected to British Parliament where he promoted the cause of Indian people. Surendranath Banerjee also joined the Congress in 1886. Some of the other important leaders in the early years of the Congress were Pherozeshah Mehta, Ananda Charlu, Romesh Chandra Dutt, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, R.M. Sayani, Vijayaraghavachariar, Anand Mohan Bose.

During the early years of its existence, the Congress asked for gradual introduction of reforms in the government and administration of the country. It demanded that the Legislative Councils be given more power and the members

of the Councils be elected. It demanded that Indians should be recruited to higher posts in the government and the Civil Service examinations should be held in India also so that capable Indians are able to compete. It also demanded changes in government's economic policies to facilitate the growth of Indian industries. It opposed the heavy expenditure of the government on administration and military affairs. Other major demands were freedom of speech and expression, expansion of welfare programmes and promotion of education.

All these demands were moderate. The leaders of the Congress believed that their demands were so reasonable that they would be accepted by the government. Their attitude was not anti-British. They believed that the British government could be persuaded to see the justness of the demands and concede them. To do this, they passed resolutions and prepared petitions which they sent to the government for consideration. These demands were popularised in Britain also. The Indian leaders tried to get the support of British public men friendly to India. By these methods of persuasion, they hoped that the Indian people would gradually win the rights that the British people enjoyed and that gradually India would become free.

British Attitude and Strengthening of the National Movement

The British government paid little heed to the demands of the national movement. Initially, as has been said before, the British rulers were sympathetic to the Congress. However, soon their attitude became one of open hostility. Officials were debarred from attending the Congress sessions.

The British administration including the viceroys began to refer to the Congress as an organisation representing a microscopic minority. They began to say that India was not one nation but many nations with no common interests. They tried to divide the Indian people on the basis of religion. For example, they began to say that the Hindus and the Muslims had no common interests. They also tried to dissuade some upper class Muslims from participating in the activities of the Congress by telling them that their interests would suffer if the Congress demands were conceded. In Britain where the Congress was able to win many supporters, the attitude of the government remained hostile. While some members of British Parliament spoke in favour of introducing reforms in India, the Parliament as a whole showed no interest in India.

You have read of the Councils Act of 1892. It had fallen far short of the expectations of the Indian leaders. They gradually became disillusioned with the British government. With this gradually grew the conviction that it was useless to expect any justice from the government. If the Indian people were to win rights, they would have to struggle for them. Mere appeals would not do. In its early years, the movement led by the Congress was confined to industrialists, lawyers, traders, and other educated sections of the middle class. However, gradually it permeated to the common people and became increasingly a mass movement.

The last years of the nineteenth century were full of misery for the Indian people. There was a famine in large parts of India and millions of people starved to death.

The early measures adopted by the government proved an utter failure. The question of poverty became the major question.

The Indian leaders blamed the policies of the government for the poverty of the Indian people. It was due to exploitation of India by the British, the drain of wealth from the country, the heavy taxation on the Indian people and the extravagance of the government. The famines made the Indian leaders who mostly came from richer sections see the real sufferings of the people under the British rule. Gradually the national movement became more radical in its demands.

With the expansion of the national movement, the repressive measures of the government increased. Curzon, who became the Governor-General in 1898, adopted repressive measures and flouted Indian opinion. He openly declared that Indians were not fit to hold important offices. His aim was to destroy the Congress and he therefore adopted the old policy of 'divide and rule'. The most important measure in this direction was the partition of Bengal. Its effect, however, was contrary to what he expected. When he left India, the national movement had become stronger than ever before.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, new trends began to appear in the national movement. The leaders responsible for bringing about these trends were Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal. The new leaders criticised the policies of the Congress as one of mendicancy. They said that the people would have to rely on their own

strength rather than on the good intentions of the government. They said that it was not enough to demand reforms in administration. The aim of the Indian people should be the attainment of Swaraj. Tilak raised the famous slogan: 'Swaraj is my birthright and I must have it.' This could be achieved only by working among the masses and by the participation of the masses in political affairs. They aroused the patriotism of the people and prepared them for sacrifices in the interests of the nation. Tilak's paper Kesari became the mouthpiece of the new group of nationalists. These nationalists utilized the popular festivals to spread political awakening among the people. They also developed new methods of political agitation like hartals and boycott of foreign goods.



Bal Gangadhar Tilak

These trends became increasingly popular and were soon to dominate the national movement. The Congress which started as a moderate organisation to work for gradual reforms in the government through petitions and appeals, also came to be dominated by the new leaders. In 1905 a new phase began in the history of the national movement.

The Congress during the first 20 years of its existence had helped to unite the people for common national aims. In the following years, this unity was further strengthened and the aims became clearer. From a movement in which only small sections of the society were active, it became a movement in which millions participated with the aim of attaining freedom.

EXERCISES

I. Answers the following questions:

1. What were the Wahabi and Kuka movements? What were their aims?
2. What were the changes in economic life that helped to bring the people of India together and how?
3. Describe the influence of education and of the social and religious reform movements on the rise of nationalism in India.
4. In what way did the administrative system established by the British in India contribute to the rise of nationalism in India?
5. How did the Indian national movement differ from the earlier revolts against the British rule?
6. What was the attitude of the British rulers towards the Indian people? Mention if there were any differences in the attitude towards different sections of society.
7. When was the Indian National Congress formed? What were its main demands in the first 20 years of its existence?
8. Describe the attitude of the British government to the demands of the Indian National Congress from 1885 to 1905.
9. What is meant by the policy of 'divide and rule'? Describe the major features of the British policy of 'divide and rule'.
10. What were the new trends that began to appear in the nationalist movement towards the end of the 19th century? What were the reason for the growth of their popularity?

II. In column A are given some statements and in column B names of some persons. Match the two columns.

A

1. He was the founder of the Indian Association.
2. He was the first President of the Indian National Congress.
3. He was the President of the Congress at its second session.
4. He was a retired British official and played a leading role in the formation of the Congress.
5. He raised the slogan 'Swaraj is my birthright and I must have it.'

B

1. A. O. Hume 61
2. Bal Gangadhar Tilak 5
3. Dadabhai Naoroji 3
4. W. C. Bonnerji 2
5. Surendranath Banerjee }

CHAPTER X

Economic and Social Life (1858-1947)

THE Queen's Proclamation of 1858 stated among other things that the British government would promote the economic development of India and the welfare of the Indian people. The conditions prevailing at that time, particularly in the countryside, called for extensive programmes for economic and social betterment of the people. Certain measures were taken by the British administrators in the sphere of economic development but they failed to realise the aims announced in the proclamation. All these measures only benefited the industrial and commercial interests of Britain. This in fact happens under all imperialist regimes. Continued backwardness of the Indian economy and the resulting poverty of the masses were, therefore, due to her subjugation.

However, the economic life of our country saw many changes during the latter half of the nineteenth century and afterwards. These changes were brought about mainly by the construction of railways, introduction, though slow, of machine industries, growth of population, demand for more cash crops and entry of British capital into Indian industry.

One of the important features of these changes was that different regions of India gradually became inter-dependent. In place of cluster of a self-sufficient villages that India had been for ages, a common economic life began to emerge. For unifying India, this was a very important development.

SECTION A

CHANGES IN ECONOMIC LIFE

Heavy Burden on Cultivators

You may remember that under the Company's administration the villages had either the zamindari or the ryotwari system of land-holding with some regional variations. The zamindari system was mostly prevalent in eastern, central and northern India. There the landlords paid revenue to the government, acting as middle men between the latter and the cultivators. The villages in southern and western India followed the ryotwari system under which the government dealt directly with the cultivators. The object of introducing these systems was to ensure collection of revenue on a regular basis. It was also expected that the security of tenure and fixation of government dues would in the long run help bring about agricultural development in the country. This expectation was not realised.

It became apparent soon that the revenue assessment was heavy on the cultivators. A series of laws, which were passed from 1859 onwards, restricted the demands on the cultivators of the landlords in the zamindari areas. These laws aimed at fair rent to be realised from the tenants and provided fixity of tenure. Every tenant who had held any land in a

village for 12 years acquired thereby a right of occupancy. But the government declined to frame similar laws in the ryotwari areas where their own revenue officers were the real masters.

The officers made fresh assessments without taking into account the actual economic condition of the cultivators. This often led them to make oppressive demands on the latter who were ultimately forced to turn to money-lenders. The peasants thus became the virtual serfs of money-lenders. Such adverse conditions provoked peasants' uprisings in a few districts in the Deccan in 1875 when "rioting was committed, shops and houses were burnt down, stocks were destroyed". But no step was taken against the enhancement of the revenue which was the real cause of suffering of the peasants.

With the growth of population the pressure on land gradually increased as there was no corresponding development of industry. Owing to this the practice of letting and sub-letting their holdings began among some of the well-off tenants both in the zamindari as well as ryotwari areas. There arose a series of rent-receiving groups, who like the original zamindars, had practically no agricultural function and multiplied the burden on the cultivator. Later on some land laws were passed with the aim of abolishing the intermediate interests but no radical steps were taken in this direction till India became independent.

Small Holdings

Another factor contributing to the backwardness of agriculture was the small size of the holding. The laws of inheritance led to the fragmentation of family holdings

continually and scattered them throughout the arable land of the village. Between 1771 and 1915, for example, the average size of holdings in the Deccan was reduced from 40 acres to seven acres. As a result of this continuous shrinkage, most of the holdings failed to provide a fair living for those dependent upon them. In European countries the system of primogeniture, i.e. the eldest son inheriting the ancestral property, prevented the sub-division of land-holdings.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, there was an expansion of the area under cultivation. However, this did not lessen the pressure on land. There was no other source to provide employment to the increasing population. In 1862 when census was taken for the first time the population figure was 206 million which rose to 283 million in 1901. Forty years later in 1941 it was 389 million. But the total output could not keep pace with this growth. The production of foodgrains in particular had declined as well.

Commercial Crops

The decline in the production of foodgrains had come about as there was a shift in favour of producing commercial crops like cotton and jute. The government promoted their production while doing little to meet the shortage of food supply. India's cotton production increased when the United States of America failed to supply cotton to the textile mills of Britain because of the Civil War there between 1861 and 1865. The government employed special commissioners to encourage cultivation of cotton in

Bombay and Madras presidencies and the Central Provinces. This brought about a temporary period of prosperity to a section of Indian cultivators.

Impoverishment of the Peasantry

Right up to the time of independence the rural population of India was continually plagued by two chronic ailments—indebtedness and famine. They clearly pointed to the poor state of agriculture and the starvation level at which the majority of our cultivators lived.

Rural Indebtedness

Cultivators everywhere get into debts very easily. The only supplier of credit to the cultivators in India was the village money-lender. But unlike the agricultural debtor elsewhere who invested the credit for improvement in land and for buying seeds, fertilizers, tools, etc., the cultivator in India incurred debt mainly for unproductive purposes. With it the Indian peasant paid his land revenue, maintained his family during lean years or spent it on social obligations connected with marriage, birth and death in the family. Moreover, the average income of the Indian cultivator was so meagre that a loan once raised could hardly be paid back out of the following year's crops. It was found in 1860 that a very high degree of indebtedness, covering almost three-fourths of the peasantry, existed in all the provinces. This situation continued throughout the nineteenth century.

The worst effect of the agricultural indebtedness was the acquisition of land by money-lenders. In the pre-British

period there were many restrictions on the transfer of land and the money-lender could not depend much on the State to recover his debts. The new judicial system, however, gave the money-lender much more power over his debtor.

From the earlier part of this century laws were passed in the provinces imposing restrictions on land transfers, and measures were also adopted to set a maximum limit to the rate and amount of interest that the money-lender could charge. In this respect the cooperative societies which supplied credit to peasants at cheap rate played a significant role. The cooperative movement started in India in 1904. However, their effect was not widespread because of the magnitude of the problem.

Famines in India

The chief reason for the occurrence of famines was the absolute dependence of the agriculturists on the monsoons. Even when the harvest was good, they could never store anything to see them through the famines. Failure of the monsoons in any year brought them face to face with famines. Though famines were frequent (between 1860 and 1908, there were 20 years of famine), a general countrywide failure of rains in any single year was rare. With the improvement of roads and construction of railways during the latter part of the nineteenth century, arrangements could be made to send foodgrains to scarcity areas. Still famines stalked over the country in one or the other region. The real problem was that the small cultivators and labourers lived absolutely hand to mouth. Unemployment even for a short period caused by failure of rains meant starvation for them.



A sketch of the Bengal famine by the famous artist Zainul Abidin.

The effect of famines were manifold. Apart from the terrible toll they took of human lives and of cattle, undernourishment and epidemics became widespread after each year of famine. Large-scale alienation of land in the affected areas and migration of population from there also disturbed the regional economy.

The frequency of famines made the government appoint Famine Commissions. On their recommendations the government decided in 1883 to allocate 15 million rupees every year for famine relief and insurance. A Famine Code was also framed to provide guidelines to the administrators. Remission of land revenue, extension of irrigation

works, monetary relief to the affected people, etc., were the main items of this Code. But the government never went into the root of the problem and did not accept the suggestion made by the Famine Commission of 1880 to introduce alternative sources of employment for the surplus population in agriculture.

The famines in the twentieth century were fewer in number and less severe because of improvement in irrigation, better transport facilities and better relief measures. The public opinion was also awakened by this time against this recurring calamity. There was, however, a severe famine in 1943 causing death of over a million people in Bengal. But it was a man-made famine caused during the Second World War.

Development of Irrigation Facilities

Right from early times, tanks, wells, canals and river-dams had been built through governmental and individual efforts to help in agriculture. In times of famine the problem of irrigation always received a special attention and all the Famine Commissions expressly recommended expansion of irrigation facilities in India.

These Commissions specially recommended programmes to develop canals. Though irrigation facilities covered only a minor part of the total area under cultivation (13 per cent by 1940) and varied considerably from province to province, it nonetheless reduced to a certain extent the danger of uncertain rainfall. Another factor should also be taken into account in this connection. As raising crops in

irrigated tracts was expensive because of the water charges, it definitely encouraged the cultivators to grow there highly priced crops which would fetch more money from the market. Thus irrigational measures also contributed towards the commercialisation of agriculture.

For developing agriculture the government adopted a few more constructive policies from the beginning of this century. Departments of Agriculture were established at the Centre and in provinces to collect facts and figures and to execute the schemes for development. The Imperial Institute of Agriculture was started at Pusa in Bihar for higher training in agriculture on modern lines, research and experimental farming. It was later shifted to Delhi. Some agricultural schools and colleges were also set up in different parts of the country. Thus some necessary steps were taken for the improvement in cultivation. But as the landlords were able to realise high rents for their land without improving its condition, there was not much progress towards modern and better farming.

The increase in agricultural production that took place was offset by the increase in population. The conditions were made worse due to gross inequalities in the ownership of land and the large number of landless labourers. Land reforms were necessary for any significant improvement in the situation. But these had to await the coming of Independence.

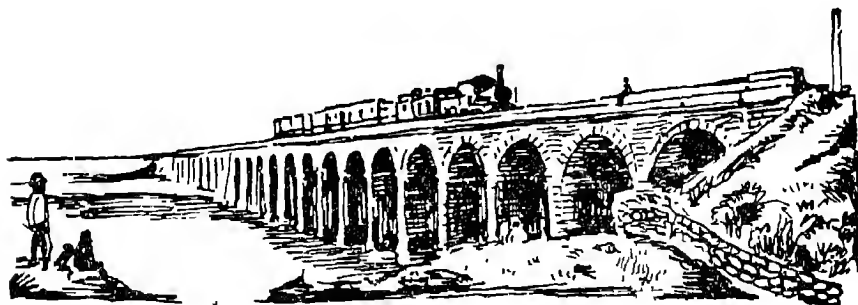
Development of Transport

For economic development, wide-spread and efficient means of transport and communication are essential. Till

the middle of the nineteenth century, the situation in India was very unsatisfactory in this respect. By then only two half-finished trunk roads, one between Calcutta and Delhi and the other between Bombay and Agra, existed in the whole country. Dalhousie who came here as Governor-General in 1848 started a Public Works Department and through it gave enough impetus to road building and installing other means of transport and communication like the railways and the telegraph. The Revolt of 1857 made the British realise the need of expanding and improving the means of communication for purposes of preserving their rule.

Railways

It is the railways which revolutionised the Indian transport system. The first railway line was opened in 1853



A sketch of the first railway train in India between Bombay and Thana. between Bombay and a suburban town near it called Thana. Next year, Calcutta was linked to the coal-fields in the western part of Bengal and in 1856 another line joined

Madras with Arkonam. After that railway construction was pushed on vigorously through the initiative of the government and private British companies.

In the earlier years the railways followed the scheme of constructing trunk lines throughout the country and connecting the big ports like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras with the important interior cities and agricultural tracts. By 1875 most of the important centres were connected in this way and the mileage of railways exceeded 5,000 miles. In the beginning railway construction was mainly guided by the interests of foreign trade which was controlled by British merchants, and not by the need of developing indigenous trade and industries. This policy was followed up to the period of the First World War when India got a chance to develop a few industries. From that time onwards, public opinion in India became more vocal in demanding that the railways should look more to the economic needs of the country than to foreign interests. In fact, the railways were making huge profits and a large part of it was going out of the country. Though the railways were mostly owned by the government, they were looked after by different British companies. The situation did not change much till 1947 though the Indian railway by that time had been laid over 43,000 miles and had thus become one of the largest railway networks in the world.

The effects of the railways on Indian economy and general life have been many and fairly deep as well. They made transport quicker, cheaper and more secure. They opened the interior productions to the outside market, and



Inside a railway compartment in the nineteenth century

lessened the chances of famine as foodgrains could be moved from the surplus areas very quickly. Railways also helped the development of industries by bringing coal and raw material to the factory sites. There was also the levelling up of prices of different commodities throughout the country. The construction of railways brought into being a new factor in Indian economy—a class of casual and unskilled labourers. The railways employed such labourers almost in all seasons in different parts of the country. These labourers mostly came

from the poorer classes of cultivators or were landless agricultural labourers.

The construction of new roads also went hand in hand with the extension of railways. The former affected village life more as they helped to break down the self-sufficient and isolated nature of the villages and often changed the nature of village cultivation.

Modern Industries in India

During the second half of the nineteenth century a few modern industries were introduced in India. They could be broadly classified as plantation and factory industries. These were mostly owned and controlled by British companies. Some industries were owned by Indians but they could not develop fast because of the unhelpful attitude of the government.

Every country at the early stages of its industrial development is forced to adopt 'protection' measures to eliminate foreign competition. But for the better part of the British rule in India, the government did not take any step in this direction as that would have gone against the interests of the "home" country. India, as you know, provided the largest market for British-made goods.

The Swadeshi movement, which began in 1905, was a significant aspect of the national freedom movement. It encouraged Indians to become self-supporting in all spheres. This movement and the compulsions of the two World Wars gave an opportunity to Indians to launch certain industries. Meanwhile, in 1920's a few industries like those of iron and steel

and textiles received some 'protection'. During the Second World War when demand for goods, both for military and civil use, rose and imports too had to be curtailed, the government assured further 'protection'. In post-war years, particularly after Independence, industrialisation began on a comparatively large scale.

Plantations

One of the major areas of European exploitation of Indian resources was in the plantation industry. It began first with the manufacture of dyes from indigo during the closing years of the eighteenth century. Indigo was grown in selected districts of Bihar and Bengal and by 1850 it formed one of the most important exportable goods from India. But in the latter part of the century indigo started losing market due to the production of German synthetic dye which was cheaper and more durable.

By that time Indian tea had a good market abroad. Founded in the middle of the nineteenth century tea became the biggest among the Indian plantation industries within a short period. Most of the tea gardens were situated in Assam and the output of this material grew so steadily that in the beginning of this century Indian tea topped the list in the world tea market. By 1940 eighty per cent of the tea produced in India was exported and in England it found its largest market. Coffee, rubber and cinchona formed other important items of plantation industries. British capital monopolised these industries almost to the end of the British rule in India.

Machine Industries

The machine industries which took the place of handicrafts during the nineteenth century almost everywhere in the world also had their beginning in India during this period. Cotton and jute industries were the biggest enterprises. The first cotton mill was started in Bombay in 1853 and barring the period when price of raw cotton rose fairly high because of its demand in England, textile industry made a steady progress. Immediately before the First World War India ranked fourth in the world among the textile producing countries. Among the textile mill owners there were many Indians. The cotton industry survived competition first from England and then from Japan and it thrived in spite of the fact that handloom products continued to hold a good market throughout the country. You may be aware that the handloom received full support from the Khadi movement started by Gandhiji.

Jute industry was originally a handicraft of Bengal and there in 1855 the first spinning machine was set up. For some time the jute mills of Dundee in Scotland were a strong rival to India. But from the last quarter of the nineteenth century Indian jute mills enjoyed the position of monopolising the world supply. "Jute made Calcutta as cotton made Bombay, Madras and Ahmedabad industrial cities."

The base of modern industrialisation is however founded on the production of minerals, chemicals, cement and power. For these industries and for railways, coal, as a means of power, is essential. Work in the coal-fields began from 1845. With the expansion of railways and the growth of industries,

the demand for coal went up. Railways remained the biggest customers of coal for a long time. It has been estimated that the coal-fields in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa contain coal of average quality to an unlimited amount. Coal is also essential for smelting iron ore which was started in India in 1874. But iron and steel industry had a feeble start and it did not take a proper shape till 1905 when the famous Tata Iron and Steel Company was founded at Jamshedpur. Later on, smaller iron works were started in Bengal and Mysore. The iron products contained a wide range of variety and made possible the development of engineering industries. The iron industry has been built up in India mainly through Indian capital, skill and enterprise. However, very little progress was made in the development of machine-making industries. Without the latter, machines for other industries could not be produced in the country and they were usually imported from outside.



Jamshedji Tata, founder of the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur

Despite some improvement during the world wars the development of industries in India at the time of Independence was very much limited. This happened in spite of the vast human and material resources available in our country and the huge market that could be found at home and abroad. This was mainly because of the economic policies of the British government. It was in Britain's interest to keep

India industrially backward and subordinate to her economy.

Foreign Trade

India's foreign trade at this time was benefited by a few factors, both external and internal. These were the opening of the Suez Canal, the introduction of steel-made steamships and construction of railways inside the country. By the end of the nineteenth century Indian exports chiefly consisted of raw



Bales of cotton being transported by railways to a port for export to foreign countries.

materials—cotton, jute, tea, rice, wheat, seeds and hides. Jute products formed the only important manufactured item. The imports primarily consisted of machinery, metal products, varieties of cloth and of course gold and silver.

The foreign trade expanded rapidly in the twentieth century. Over the years there were changes in the direction

and nature of the trade as well. Throughout the nineteenth century Britain dominated India's foreign trade. In the twentieth century trade relations were established with many other countries, particularly with the U.S.A., Japan and Germany. Trade with these countries went on increasing.



A view of the port at Calcutta in the nineteenth century

Meanwhile the items of export and import also altered. The proportion of manufactured goods gradually increased and on the eve of Independence they constituted half of our exports. The import of manufactured goods correspondingly

declined. This does not, however, mean that the economic development of India had reached a high level.

In her trade with other countries, India usually maintained a favourable balance. The total quantity and value of her exports exceeded imports. But this did not make the country richer as the profit was used for paying off various kinds of dues charged on India by Britain. These 'dues' consisted of profits made by the British capital invested in India, cost of shipping and other commercial services rendered to traders in India most of whom were British, payment for maintaining the establishment of the Secretary of State for India in Britain, and meeting various other expenses. The dues were collectively called "Home Charges" and they drained a huge amount of money every year from India to Britain. Thus India's profits out of a favourable trade balance "were wiped off mainly by the cost of her being a part of the British Empire."

Economic Condition of the People

The average annual income per head, if worked out properly, usually gives us an indication of the general economic condition of a country. In India such an income has been estimated in a rather rough way as many necessary data have not been available. According to this estimate the per capita annual income in 1947 was Rs. 228, which works out to less than one rupee per day. We should also take into account the fact that incomes of the different sections of the people varied widely. The landlords, factory owners, traders and the middle class people were earning a lot more than small

cultivators and labourers engaged in field, factories and ports. The latter group formed the overwhelming majority of the population and their standard of living was very low. In the beginning of this century the monthly wage of an agricultural labourer was on an average less than Rs. 5 and that of an unskilled labourer in towns like Calcutta and Delhi about Rs. 8 only. These figures indicate in very clear terms the poverty of the Indian people.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the governments of the developed countries played a very prominent role in shaping the economy of their countries. In India, as we have seen above, things happened in a different way because of the foreign rule. Here the government refused to protect and support the developing industries for a very long time under the pressure of British businessmen. Neither did it take adequate measures to improve rural life nor promote agriculture on modern lines. Instead, it imposed heavy revenue assessment and many other kinds of taxes which made a large section of cultivators lose their small holdings and become landless labourers. These extractions provoked peasant revolts in many parts of India during the second half of the nineteenth century. The government's huge expenditure on military and administration was no less responsible for the acute poverty in India.

Certain sections of our people, as the landlords, rich farmers and money-lenders, also exploited to the utmost the poor people of the village—the tenants, the landless labourers, and those belonging to lower castes and tribal groups. Later on, to safeguard and promote their interests,

bodies like Kisan Sabhas, Harijan Leagues, etc., were organised.

The condition of the plantation and factory workers was also miserable for a long time. Though laws had been passed since 1881 to fix working hours, minimum age limit for employment and minimum wage for the workers, these were not strictly enforced. The All India Trade Union Congress was formed in 1920. This proved to be a positive step towards organising the labour movement to safeguard the rights of workers.

The main beneficiaries of the changing economic situation were the members of the new middle class which we have already mentioned in chapter VI. Their number and importance rapidly increased with their absorption in the growing administrative machinery and expanding trade and industry. Many more entered the professions of law, medicine, engineering, teaching and business. The middle class also became more vocal about their political rights and clamoured for social reforms and economic betterment.

The Indian National Congress from the beginning showed concern for the poverty and economic distress in the country. Its leaders continuously protested against the oppressive revenue policy of the government, the "drain" of Indian wealth to Britain and the failure of the government to develop Indian resources. In 1937, when elected to power in the majority of the provinces, the Congress initiated a few development measures. But the Congress rule was too short, only up to 1939, to make any impact. However in 1938 it set up

a National Planning Committee to draw a blue-print for India's economic progress. This job was taken up by the Planning Commission when India became free.

EXERCISES

1. Answer the following questions :

1. What were the causes of the backwardness of Indian agriculture ?
2. Why did the production of foodgrains decline ?
3. What were the causes of the indebtedness of peasants during the British rule ?
4. What were the causes of the frequent occurrence of famines in India ?
5. What steps were taken by the British government to meet the problem of famines ?
6. How were the economy of the country and the general life of the people affected by the introduction of railways ?
7. What were the industries introduced in India during the British rule ?
8. Why did not the British government adopted the policy of protection ?
9. What were the reasons for the increase of India's industrial backwardness ?
10. What were the reasons for the increase in India's foreign trade in the 20th century ?
11. Discuss the causes of poverty of the Indian people.
12. Who were the main beneficiaries of the progress in agriculture and industry during the British rule in India ? Why ?

II. Given below are some statements about the economic development of India between 1858 and 1947. Put a tick mark against a statement if it is true and a cross mark if it is false.

1. Changes in the economic life helped in fostering unity among the people.
2. Ryotwari system was prevalent mostly in southern and western India.
3. Peasants in the Ryotwari areas were better off than peasants in the Zamindari areas.
4. The British government encouraged the cultivation of cotton to feed Indian textile industry.
5. At the time of the First World War, India was far behind the rest of the world in textile industry.

III. Things to do :

1. Prepare a chart showing the influence of the following on the life of the people, prosperity of the country and agriculture.
 - (a) Cultivation of each crops.
 - (b) Construction of canals.
 - (c) Introduction of railways.
2. Prepare graphs to show the following from 1858 to 1947 :
 - (a) Growth of per capita annual income.
 - (b) Growth of population.
 - (c) Growth of railways.
 - (d) Increase in the land area under cultivation.
 - (e) Areas under irrigation.Collect data for the above from other sources.

SECTION B

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS

As you have read before, some of the old religious and social practices did great harm to the Indian people. The Indian people got divided into upper and lower castes. Women were not always treated very kindly. Boys and girls were married off at a very young age. These practices kept the Indian people divided and very backward. Some of these practices had the support of religious leaders and were considered a part of religion. You have read before how in the medieval times, Bhakti saints and others had tried to rid Indian society of its many evils. In the nineteenth century, there were movements in almost every part of the country for religious and social reforms. These movements helped to break the barriers that divided the Indian people and thus played a very important role in the national awakening. They received great impetus from the spread of modern education. The educated people from the middle class were usually in the forefront of these movements.

You have read of the pioneering role played by Ram-mohun Roy in introducing religious and social reforms. His work was carried on through successive movements by other scholars and reformers throughout the nineteenth century. These movements exhorted the people to go back to the original religious principles and discard the abuses which had accumulated over the ages and to reorganise the social practices on the basis of a humane and rational outlook. This

was by no means an easy process as orthodox elements formed a large and strong group in the country. The foreign rulers also remained more or less unconcerned on these matters. Some steps were taken by the British government in this direction before the Revolt of 1857, like the abolition of the practice of Sati. But after the Revolt, it became indifferent to the question of social reforms. The changes that came about after 1857 were the result of the activities of Indian reformers.

Brahmo Samaj

Many reform movements in the latter part of the nineteenth century attained an all-India character. The leaders of these movements made missionary tours over different regions of the country for propagating their views. Keshab Chandra Sen who raised the Brahmo Samaj to the height of its power was the first touring Indian missionary. For carrying the message of the Brahmo movement he travelled throughout Madras and Bombay presidencies and later on the northern India between 1864 and 1868.

Keshab Chandra and his group held views on religious and social matters which were much more radical than those of others of the Brahmo Samaj. He proclaimed freedom from the bondage of caste and customs, and the authority of any scripture and tradition howsoever sanctified they might be. His was a movement of social revolt which advocated inter-caste marriage, removal of *purdah* for women, education for workers and social equality for all. Because of his radical

views Keshab Chandra had to part company with the parent body and in 1866 he founded the 'Brahmo Samaj of India.'

Though the Brahmo Samajists were never large in number, they represented the new spirit of the age and held very rational and liberal views. Important reforms like the lessening of caste rigidity, improvement in the status of women, abolition of child marriage and polygamy, dining with people of the so-called lower castes and non-Hindus, removal of restriction about food and drink, promotion of education for all, sanction of sea-voyage, etc., were initiated by them. These helped the progress of the Hindu society on modern lines. Many of the noble sons of modern India came from the Brahmo fold.

Veda Samaj and Prarthana Samaj

With the same ideals as that of the Brahmo Samaj, the Veda Samaj of Madras and the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay were founded in 1864 and 1866 respectively. An educated middle class had arisen there too and it felt the need of bringing about some religious and social reforms.

The real force behind the Veda Samaj was K. Sridharalu Naidu who translated the books of the Brahmo Samaj into Tamil and Telugu and propagated them throughout the South. In 1871 he changed the Veda Samaj into the Brahmo Samaj of South India. His untimely death in 1874 weakened the reform movement there.

Mahadev Govind Ranade was the chief architect of the Prarthana Samaj. He was assisted by scholars like Ramakrishna Bhandarkar. Instead of producing any new philosophy

the members of the Samaj drew inspiration from the Hindu scriptures and hymns of old poet-saints of Maharashtra like Tukaram and Jnaneswara. In social reforms, they laid stress on female education, widow remarriage, abolition of *pardah*, etc. As the Prarthana Samaj did not have much missionary activity, its message did not spread widely.

The Prarthana Samaj did not have any radical Programme because it did not want "to break with the past" as Ranade himself had put it. He was of the view that the social reform was the real need of the time and this could be best achieved by removing the abuses that had crept in the society. To do this effectively and on an all India basis, he founded in 1887 the Indian National Social Conference. This Conference met every year at the time of the session of the Indian National Congress to discuss the social problems of the country and adopt measures for social progress. Ranade was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress also. Like Rammohun Roy, he was a man of high scholarship, vision and many activities. He was one of the earliest leaders to declare "that in this vast country no progress is possible unless both Hindus and Mohammedans join hands together."

Arya Samaj

Since these movements had drawn heavily on Western ideas, some Indian reformers felt uneasy. This led to the growth of a sense of resistance and ultimately a challenge to the doctrines coming from outside. The political awakening that was taking place in the country had also aroused a

sense of pride in the traditional Indian culture. The orthodox Indians also wanted to repudiate all that was foreign and defend their religious and social institutions fully by re-adjusting and re-explaining them whenever necessary. Under such an inspiration a strong movement was launched in northern India during the last quarter of the nineteenth century by Dayanand Saraswati. Born in Kathiawad in 1824, Dayanand (Mula Shankara was his early name) turned a rebel when he was only 14 by rejecting idol worship. Soon after, he left home and led the life of a wandering scholar in search of knowledge. During this period he acquired mastery over Sanskrit language and literature.

In 1863 when Dayanand thought that his studies were completed he started preaching his doctrine—there was only one God who was to be worshipped not in the form of images but as a spirit. He held that Vedas contained all the knowledge imparted to man by God and essentials of modern science could also be traced there. With this message he went about all over the country and in 1875 founded the Arya Samaj in Bombay. Dayanand preached and wrote in Hindi. The *Satyarth Prakash* was his most important book. The use of Hindi made his ideas accessible to the common people of northern India. The Arya Samaj made rapid progress in Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat and particularly in Punjab where it became a very important social and political force.

The members of the Arya Samaj were guided by "Ten Principles" of which the first one was studying the Vedas. The rest were tenets on virtue and morality. Dayanand framed for them a code of social conduct as well in which

there was no room for caste distinctions and social inequality. The Arya Samajists opposed child marriage and encouraged remarriage of widows.

A network of schools and colleges for boys and girls was established throughout northern India to promote the objects of the Arya Samaj. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School of Lahore which soon developed into a premier college of Punjab set the pattern for such institutions. Here instructions were given through English and Hindi on modern lines. Those among his disciples who wanted to maintain the original spirit of Dayanand founded the "Gurukul" at Hardwar. This was set up on the pattern of ancient *asrama*.

Dayanand's emphasis on the supernatural and infallible character of the Vedas seems to have risen from his ardent desire to give Hinduism a definite creed and equip it with a militant character. Similar in nature was his move for the reconversion of those Hindus who had been converted to other religions like Islam and Christianity. For this purpose a purificatory ceremony called *Shuddhi* was prescribed.

Ramakrishna Mission

Another important reformer of this period was Ramakrishna (1836-1886) who was a priest in a temple at Dakshineswar near Calcutta. After coming in contact with the leaders of other religions he accepted the sanctity of all faiths. By simplicity of character and homely wisdom, he won the heart of all who gathered around him. Almost all religious reformers of his time, including Keshab Chandra Sen and Dayanand, called on him for religious discussion and

guidance. The contemporary Indian intellectuals whose faith in their own culture had been shaken by the challenge from the West found reassurance from his teachings. In fact, Ramakrishna was looked upon as a symbol of their revolt against the superiority of western thought and ideas.

A great institution of social service, Ramakrishna Mission organised after his death, drew inspiration from his life and teachings. It gave form to his message that service to man was the best way of serving God. Swami Vivekanand, the favourite disciple of Ramakrishna, was the chief organiser of the Mission which was established in 1897. Since then it has grown into a very powerful centre of public activities in various fields. These comprise organising relief during floods, famines and epidemics, establishing hospitals, running educational institutions, etc. The Mission also maintains branches in foreign countries for spreading Indian religious ideas.

Vivekanand

Vivekanand (1863-1902) had a character altogether different from that of his master. Like Dayanand his was a restless soul from early youth. He studied deeply Indian and western philosophies but could not find peace of mind until he met Ramakrishna. He was, however, not content just with spirituality. The question that constantly agitated him was the degenerated condition of his motherland. After an all-India tour he found everywhere "poverty, squalor, loss of mental vigour and no hope for the future." He frankly stated, "it is we who are responsible for all our misery and all our

degradation." So Vivekanand urged his countrymen to work out their own salvation.

For this purpose he took upon himself the task of awakening his countrymen and reminding them repeatedly of their weaknesses. He inspired them "to struggle unto life and death to bring about a new state of things—sympathy for the poor, and bread to their hungry mouths, enlightenment to the people at large." A band of workers devoted to this cause were trained through the Ramakrishna Mission and this gave a new form to the patriotic aspirations of young India for generations.



Vivekanand

Vivekanand's activities outside India helped in the appreciation of Indian culture abroad. He participated in the Parliament of Religions which was held in Chicago in the United States of America in 1893. His address there made a deep impression on the people of other countries and thus helped to raise the estimation of Indian culture in the eyes of the world.

Muslim Reform Movements

Among the Muslims the first signs of awakening appeared in early nineteenth century under the leadership of people like Syed Ahmed of Bareilly in the Uttar Pradesh and Shariatullah of Bengal. These reformers drew their inspiration largely from the teachings of an earlier scholar and religious leader Shah Wali Ullah of Delhi. They held that because of

the degeneration of Islam in India this land had fallen into the hands of the British. They set themselves to the task of purifying and strengthening their religion and culture.

Later the Indian Muslim community came under the influence of western ideas. During the first half of the nineteenth century only a handful of Muslims of Delhi and Calcutta had taken to English education. But most of them kept themselves away from it because of the attitude of the *Ulama*, who were the traditional custodians of Islamic learning, and unwillingness of the upper class Muslims to come to terms with the British rule. The British had gradually robbed both these groups of their influence and rendered them powerless. Deprived of English education and its social and economic advantages, a middle class did not grow among the Indian Muslims for a long time.

The ill feeling between the British and the Muslims greatly increased as a result of the Revolt of 1857 in which, you may remember, Muslims had actively participated. At this stage a few enlightened Muslims felt the need of adopting a cooperative policy towards the rulers and improving their social condition with the help of the latter. A few movements were also launched aiming at the spread of modern education and removing social abuses like the *Purdah* and the polygamy. The Mohammedan Literary Society of Calcutta founded in 1863 by Nawab Abdul Latif was one of the earliest organisations to take steps towards this direction. However, the most important one was what came to be known as the "Aligarh Movement" of which Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the chief organiser.

Syed Ahmed Khan

Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-92) came from a family of nobles of the Mughal Court. He joined the service of the Company as a judicial officer and remained loyal to them during the days of the Revolt. This gave him a right to speak for his community which the rulers could not long ignore. He pointed out to the British the depressed position of the Indian Muslims whom the rulers had declared as their "real enemies and most dangerous rivals." After hard persuasion, Syed Ahmed Khan was able to convince the British officials of the necessity of a better understanding of the Indian Muslims.



Sir Syed Ahmed Khan
of the Indian Muslims.

The problem of religious and educational reforms was a more uphill task. He appealed to his people to return to the original Islamic principle of purity and simplicity. He advocated English education for the regeneration of Muslims in India. What had happened to Rammohun half a century earlier was almost repeated now. Syed Ahmed Khan had to face opposition from the orthodox sections of Muslims. However, with courage and wisdom, he overcame these obstacles. As a practical step towards popularising English education, he started building up new schools and founded an association called the Scientific Society in 1864. The Society published Urdu translation of English books on scientific and other subjects and an English-Urdu journal for

spreading liberal ideas on social reform. His greatest achievement was the foundation of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1875. In course of time this College became the most important educational institution of the Indian Muslims. It mainly provided for education in humanities and sciences through English medium and many of its staff members came from England. The College received support from the leading Muslims throughout India and the British showed much interest, both officially and non-officially, in its development.

The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College which later on became the Aligarh University fostered a modern outlook among the generations of students that came here. It thus played an important role in the awakening of Muslims in India.

Syed Ahmed Khan was patriotic and his relations with Hindus were friendly. He was, however, opposed to participation of Muslims in the activities of the Indian National Congress. He wanted more time for the Indian Muslims to organise and consolidate their position and thought this could be best done through maintaining good relations with the British rulers.

Though Syed Ahmed Khan opposed the Indian National Congress, he emphasized the unity between Hindus and Muslims. He held the view, "in consideration of the fact that we (Hindus and Muslims) belong to the same country, we are a nation, and the progress and usefulness of the country, and of both of us, depend on our unity, mutual sympathy and love."

Besides introducing modern education among the Muslims, Syed Ahmed Khan advocated the removal of many social prejudices that kept the community backward.

Progress of Social Reforms

Other communities—the Parsees, Sikhs and Christians also introduced various kinds of reforms with the aim of removing social injustices.

While the enlightened Indians were trying to reorganise their society on the basis of rational and liberal principles, what had been the attitude of their rulers towards this problem? We find that in the post-Revolt period the British government showed extreme unwillingness in the matter of reforms. Their attitude was one of appeasing the orthodox upper sections of society. During the second half of the nineteenth century only two important laws were passed. One of these passed in 1872, sanctioned inter-caste and inter-communal marriages. The other passed in 1891 aimed to discourage child marriage. These laws were passed at the instance of two Indian reformers, Keshab Chandra Sen and Behramji Malabari. For preventing child marriage a more positive step was taken much later in 1929 when the Sharda Act was passed. According to it a girl below 14 and a boy below 18 could not be given in marriage

In course of time public enthusiasm shifted more towards freedom movement which involved people mainly in the political struggle. But organisations like the Indian National Social Conference which we have mentioned above continued their campaigns against social injustices. As be-

fore, they concentrated on the removal of the abuses affecting women and people of the so-called lower castes. Removal of the age-old sufferings of these people was easier now because of two factors. Education was spreading and Indians were gradually getting more administrative powers, particularly since Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1921, to pass laws against these injustices. But the efforts to pass laws to introduce monogamy, or to allow some property right to women or permit people who were considered untouchables to enter temples repeatedly failed. It only showed the extent of bigotry in our society. Some concessions in these matters came as late as 1937 when Hindu Women's Right to Property Act and Bombay Harijan Temple Worship Act were passed. Political movements like Non-cooperation (1921) and Civil Disobedience (1930) in which many women, both educated and uneducated, participated proved more helpful for the emancipation of Indian women. Similarly, fight against untouchability formed one of the important items of the constructive programme that Gandhiji steadfastly followed along with his regular political work.

Education

You may remember the steps that the Company's government had taken for educational development. An annual allotment of a lakh of rupees was provided for this purpose by the Charter Act of 1813 and in 1835 the Governor-General Bentinck had decided to promote western education among the Indian subjects. But only in 1854 the government declared its intention of "creating a properly articulated system of education from the primary school to the university."

This proved to be a very important landmark in the educational progress of modern India.

This declaration, known as the Wood's Despatch, was worked out in detail after the Revolt and led to the establishment of Public Instruction Departments in the provinces, foundation of a university in each of the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and allotment of government grants to private schools and colleges. A new cadre called Indian Educational Service was also introduced which provided teachers to government schools and colleges all over the country.

These measures led to a large increase in the number of schools and colleges run by government as well as by missionaries and other private organisations. At the same time government control over education also grew and stayed with us for a long time.

The growth of education was not, however, uniform at all levels and more attention was given to the development of high schools and colleges. The primary vernacular schools particularly suffered for lack of funds. The government did not come to their aid and the vast masses of the country were too poor to bear the expenses of their children's education. Thus millions of people in India remained illiterate.

The result was that by the beginning of the twentieth century four out of five Indian villages were without a primary school and three out of four children grew up without any education. Higher education was a slavish imitation of the western system, unrelated to the needs of the country. Curzon tried to raise the quality of higher education in India. Later on when Asutosh Mukerji became the Vice-Chancellor,

Calcutta University collected a number of eminent scholars who worked hard to raise the standard of the University. However, in spite of some improvements in higher education, Curzon's policy was to put universities under the control of the government and thus prevent the spread of patriotism among students and teachers.

As a revolt against the governmental control of education the leaders of the Swadeshi Movement of 1905 established a National Council of Education. Under this organisation a National College and some national schools were started. Though they did not survive long, organising education on similar lines became a part of our freedom movement.

There were also attempts to give a new shape to educational training. Rabindranath Tagore's Visva Bharati at Santiniketan, Vidyapeeths at Varanasi, Ahmedabad and other places and the schools following Gandhiji's Nai Talim scheme may be cited as examples. The Nai Talim sought to impart primary education through training in crafts so as to make students self-dependent from early stages. Dr. Zakir Husain who became the third President of the Indian Republic played a leading role in developing this new system of education.

Our education had long remained bookish which made average students nothing better than memorising machines. The need to make our education vocational was increasingly felt and this was recommended to the government by many experts on education.

The expansion of primary education and rise in the rate of literacy formed another difficult problem. One of our

foremost nationalist leaders G. K. Gokhale said in 1903, "it is obvious that an illiterate and ignorant nation can never make any solid progress and must fall back in the race of life." To remove illiteracy from India he and others repeatedly made the demand for introducing free and compulsory education for the age group between six and ten at least in certain areas. But the government did not do much. The position in some of the Indian states like Baroda, Mysore and Travancore-Cochin was better where primary education had become gradually free. However, in 1947 the overall picture was not at all bright with only 24 per cent males and seven per cent females as literates.

A very adverse effect of a large section of the population remaining illiterate was that it widened the gulf between the educated few and the uneducated masses.

Cultural Awakening

Though the educational system as described above had many drawbacks and had benefited a very small section of the community, its impact on the life, thought and culture of the new India as a whole was immense.

The close contact with modern ideas stimulated Indians to create literature which was much different from the earlier one, both in content as well as in style. The new literature fully reflected the vast changes that had been taking place in society. It also revealed the urge of the educated Indians to become conversant not only with developments in the world but also with the glorious achievements of the earlier times, particularly of their own country.

Previously, religion and mythology dominated the literary works produced in different regional languages. Most of them were composed in verse. A fresh era was inaugurated from the beginning of the nineteenth century when an easy prose style appeared. It developed fast to become a powerful medium of expression suitable for various literary forms—novel, short story, drama, essay, etc. Many European missionaries and scholars made a valuable contribution to the growth of prose in modern Indian languages. They prepared grammars and compiled dictionaries for these languages. The contribution of scholars like William Carey, Gilchrist and Bishop Caldwell were exemplary in this matter.

The theme of the new literature was predominantly humanistic. It stressed the freedom of man and equality of all. These as you know had been the inspiring messages of the radical movements going on in different parts of the world.

That the modern Indian literature reached a degree of distinction was proved by the award of the Nobel Prize to the poet Rabindranath and the high recognition given to other literary figures like Bhartendu Harishchandra, Vallathol, Prem Chand and Mohammed Iqbal. Like these great poets many other men of letters of modern India tried to reconcile the ideas and wisdom of the East and the West. Later on, similar trends appeared in painting and sculpture as well.

In the domain of the study of science also some Indians showed high proficiency. Since the introduction of modern education it had become fairly clear that the neglect of

science for ages, was one of the principal reasons for India's backwardness. Though many Indian students had taken to the study of modern sciences, they could not use it properly for lack of general industrial development in the country and adequate research facilities. The position improved slowly and high recognition was given to the works of scientists like Ramanujam, C. V. Raman and Jagadish Bose. C. V. Raman was awarded the Nobel Prize for his work in physics.

EXERCISES

I. Answer the following questions :

1. What was the impact of British rule on the thinking of the Indian people towards their own society ?
2. What was the attitude of Keshab Chandra Sen toward caste system and the position of women in society ?
3. Who was the founder of Arya Samaj ? What were his teachings ?
4. What was the contribution of Arya Samaj to the spread of education in India ?
5. What was Prarthana Samaj and what were its main activities ?
6. What were the main activities of the Ramakrishna Mission ?
7. What was the contribution of Vivekanand to the awakening of the Indian people ?
8. What was the contribution of Syed Ahmed Khan in the spread of education and the awakening of the Muslims ?
9. What were the defects in the educational system established by the British in India ?
10. Trace the history of the educational policy of the British government after 1853.
11. Describe the contribution of Indians to the spread of education in the twentieth century.

12. What were those features of modern Indian literature that were new ?

II. In column A are given the names of some organisations and institutions and in column B names of some persons. Match column A with column B.

A	B
1. Brahmo Samaj -	Vivekanand
2. Arya Samaj -	Keshab Chandra Sen
3. Prarthana Samaj,	Dayanand
4. Ramakrishna Mission	Syed Ahmed Khan
5. M.A.O. College,	Mahadev Govind Ranade

III. Things to do :

1. Collect the photographs of the founders of various religious and social reform organisations of the nineteenth century. Paste them in an album.
2. Read the biographies of some of the reformers whose photographs you have collected.
3. Prepare a chart for the classroom showing the activities of some of the social and religious reformers.

CHAPTER XI

Struggle for Swaraj

YOU have read before that in the nineteenth century, consciousness had been growing among the Indian people that they were one nation. They had realised that it was necessary to organise a national organisation to promote their common interests. This is how the Indian National Congress was formed. During the first 20 years of its existence, the Congress worked for reforms in administration so that people have more say in the affairs of the country.

Extremists and Moderates

As you have seen, the hopes of the Indian leaders in the British government were belied. The British government paid no heed to these demands and became more and more hostile to them. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, new leaders began to emerge. They began to assert that the Indian people could not win their rights by merely appealing to the government. They had no faith in the good intentions of the British government. They taught people to rely on their own strength. They instilled among the people love for and pride in their country. They prepared them for any

sacrifice that may be necessary in the service of the country. *Bande Mataram*, the national song with which you may be familiar, became popular. It was written by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and expressed people's devotion to the motherland.

The most prominent among these new leaders were Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and



Many important national leaders can be seen in this photograph taken in 1904. Left to right, sitting : Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Kelkar. Standing behind Tilak and Pal are C.R. Das and Surendranath Tagore. (Courtesy : *Shri Jnanajan Pal*)

Aurobindo Ghosh. They came to be known as 'extremists'. The older leaders of the Congress like Surendranath Bannerji, Gopal Krishan Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta, were known as 'moderates'. They still believed that the British rulers could be made to see justness of the Indian demands. By persuasion, through resolutions and meetings, the British government, they thought, could be persuaded to introduce reforms in the interests of the Indian people.

Influence of World Events

As the disillusionment with the British government grew, the influence of the 'extremist' leaders began to increase. Events outside India also helped to strengthen the anti-British and patriotic thinking of the people. In 1896, Italian soldiers were defeated by the Ethiopians when Italy waged a war to conquer Ethiopia. Defeat of a European country at the hands of the Ethiopian people was heartening to the Indian people.

Later there was a war between Japan and Russia ending in a victory for Japan in 1905. Since the ascendancy of Europe over Asia, this was the first time that an Asian country had defeated a European country in war. The victory of Japan, therefore, had great impact on the Indian people whose hatred for the British rule had been rising. Japan, as you will see later, herself became an imperialist country and tried to conquer many parts of Asia. However, the Japanese victory in 1905 was important in so far as it showed to the people that a European power could be defeated. It gave the Indian people confidence in their own strength and in their struggle against the British rule.

In 1905, there was a revolution in Russia. Russia in those days was ruled by an autocratic emperor and the people had no rights. The people rose up in rebellion against the Czar, as the Russian emperor was called. Though the revolution was suppressed, it inspired people suffering under the oppressive rule in India. The struggle of many other peoples against oppression also inspired the people of India. In Ireland, for example, people were trying to free themselves from British domination. All these developments influenced the thinking of Indian people and their leaders. These events also strengthened the position of the new leaders.

Partition of Bengal

However, the event that had the greatest effects in changing the aims and methods of the national movement was the partition of Bengal. Bengal was then the largest province of British India. It included Bihar and parts of Orissa and had a population of over 78 million people. There had been schemes for reorganising the province for many years. It was said that it was difficult to administer such a big province and that it was necessary to break it up. However, instead of separating the non-Bengali areas from the province, that is Bihar and parts of Orissa, the proposals of partition suggested the separation of east Bengal from the province. An important reason behind these proposals was to weaken the national movement. The British rulers thought that by partitioning the province they would succeed in weakening the movement by dividing the people. Another aim was to sow seeds of

disunity between Hindus and Muslims. It was said that the new province, in which Muslims would be in a majority, would be in the interests of the Muslims. By this, the British thought, they would be able to wean away the Muslims from the national movement. The people and the national leaders realised what the real intentions of the government were. Hundreds of meetings were held all over Bengal to protest against these schemes. Opinion in Bengal against the partition was united.

However, the government under the governor-generalship of Curzon showed no regard to the wishes of the people. In July 1905, the final scheme of the partition was announced. The eastern parts of Bengal were separated from the rest of Bengal and added to Assam. Thus a new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was created. The partition came into effect on 16 October 1905.

The partition of Bengal led to a wave of indignation throughout Bengal. Huge public meetings and massive demonstrations were held in different towns. A movement was launched to end the partition. It was led by both 'extremist' and 'moderate' leaders. Some of the prominent leaders of the movement were Surendranath Bannerji, Bipin Chandra Pal and Abdul Rasul. The day on which the partition was effected, was observed all over Bengal as a day of mourning. All business came to a standstill. On the suggestion of the great poet Rabindranath Tagore, the day was also observed as a day of unity and solidarity of the people. People all over Bengal, whether Hindus, Muslims or Christians, tied

rakhi thread on the arms of one another. Through this ceremony, they expressed their unity and brotherhood.

The national movement adopted as its aim the ending of partition of Bengal. New methods of protest were adopted and these soon became important features of the struggle for freedom. These were the *swadeshi* and *boycott*. Larger number of people were drawn into the movement than ever before. Soon the aims of the national movement also became more radical than before. Thus the partition of Bengal had consequences that were contrary to the ones expected by the government.

The Swadeshi and Boycott Movements

The Swadeshi and Boycott movements started with a view to end the partition of Bengal. However, they soon became powerful weapons in the struggle for freedom. *Swadeshi* means "of one's own country". The term as used in the early years of the twentieth century meant that people should use goods produced within the country. This would help promote Indian industries and strengthen the nation. It was also an effective method of developing patriotism.

The promotion of *Swadeshi* was accompanied by the advocacy of Boycott. People were asked to boycott foreign goods. This helped arouse nationalist sentiments of the people. It was realised that by organising the boycott of foreign goods which were mainly British, sale of these goods would suffer. This would hurt Britain's economic interests and the British government would be forced to bow before Indian demands.

The Swadeshi and Boycott led to the heightening of political activity all over India. British cloth, sugar and other goods were boycotted. People went in groups to shopkeepers to persuade them to stop selling British goods. They stood outside the shops to dissuade people from buying British cloth. People stopped talking to persons selling or using British goods or having any other relations with them. At places, barbers and washermen refused to serve such persons.

A very important role was played in this movement by school and college students. They started using only Indian-made goods and took a leading part in dissuading people from buying British goods. The government resorted to all kinds of repressive measures. Many students were expelled from schools and colleges. Many were beaten up and sent to jail.

Swadeshi and Boycott were not confined to goods only. Swadeshi gradually came to include everything Indian and boycott of many other things connected with the British rule. They became powerful weapons with which the Indian people fought against the British rule. Initially aimed at forcing the government to end the partition of Bengal, they ultimately became the means to attain freedom from foreign rule.

Congress and the Goal of Swaraj

The agitation against the partition, and the spread of Swadeshi and Boycott movement influenced the policies of the Congress. All the sections within the Congress,

'moderates' and 'extremists', were united against the partition of Bengal. Gopal Krishan Gokhale was the President of the Congress session held at Benaras in December 1905. At this session the Congress gave its support to the Swadeshi and Boycott.

However, the differences between the moderates and the extremists persisted. The moderates believed that methods like boycott should be used only in special circumstances for specific purposes. It was, in their view justifiable to use it against the partition of Bengal. They, however, did not like these to become normal methods of agitation against the British rule. They were opposed to an all-out struggle against the British. In Britain, the Liberal Party had come to power and Morley had become the Secretary of State. The moderate leaders believed that through petitions and appeals the Liberal government could be persuaded to bring about improvements in administration.

The extremists, however, believed that it was necessary to extend the boycott to other things. They advocated the boycott of schools, colleges and universities supported by the government, and starting of educational institutions to inculcate patriotism. In short, they advocated a widespread movement against the British rule. This method of agitation against foreign rule came to be known as passive resistance. It was passive because through it people stopped associating with the activities of the government. The Swadeshi and Boycott developed self-reliance among people. They also aimed at defeating the economic policies of the government

because the sale of British goods in India was one of the most effective ways of India's economic exploitation.

The differences between the moderates and the extremists were growing when the annual session of the Congress was held at Calcutta in December 1906. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was the most respected leader of the Indian people in those days, was the President of this session. He persuaded the leaders belonging to different ways of thinking to agree to certain common policies. In a resolution, the Congress gave its support to the Boycott and Swadeshi. It also emphasised the need for organising a system of education suitable to the needs of the country. This system, it was said, should be organised by the Indian people themselves. However, the most important decision of the Congress was to specify the attainment of *Swaraj* as the aim of the Indian people. This was included in the Presidential speech of Dadabhai Naoroji. The Congress declared that *Swaraj* on lines of government which prevailed in the self-governing colonies of Britain was its goal. This referred to the type of self-government in countries like Canada and Australia which were part of the British Empire but had government elected by and responsible to the people. This was a major advance in the declared aims of the Congress. The Congress had so far worked for reforms mainly within the existing structure of government. It had hoped that gradually through these reforms India would attain self-government but it had not openly declared this. This session, therefore, is of great importance in the history of our freedom movement.

However, the moderates and the extremists could not long remain united. At the Congress session of 1907, held at

Surat, there was an open conflict. The dispute arose over the methods to be adopted for the attainment of Swaraj. The moderates still thought in terms of gradual reforms and opposed the method of boycott. The Congress then came completely under the domination of moderate leaders and the extremists started functioning separately. It was nine years later, in 1916, that the two groups were united. But by then, the old moderate leadership had very little influence left.

The government had resorted to repressive measures against the extremist leaders. Lajpat Rai had been arrested and deported early in 1907 though he was released just before the Congress session at Surat. Bipin Chandra Pal had also been imprisoned for six months. In 1908, Tilak was arrested and deported to Burma for six years. Many newspapers were banned. However, in spite of these repressive measures, the policies and methods advocated by the extremist leaders to oppose the British gained in popularity.

Morley-Minto Reforms

In 1909, the British Government announced certain changes in the structure of the government in India. These are known as Morley-Minto Reforms named after the then Secretary of State and the Viceroy respectively. According to these reforms, the number of additional members in the Central Legislative Council was raised from 16 to 60. Of these 27 were to be elected members. But the elected members were not elected by the people. Most of them

were to be elected by landlords, organisations of industrialists and traders and by the provincial legislative councils. Separate representation was given to Muslims. The number of members in the provincial councils was increased to 50. Less than half of them were to be elected, but again not in elections in which people voted, but by landlords, organisations of traders, universities and local bodies. There was no significant change in the powers of the councils. Their decisions were not binding on the government and on certain matters like the army and foreign policy, they did not have powers even to make recommendations.

These reforms did not mark an advance towards the establishment of a representative government, much less *Swaraj*. In fact, the Secretary of State frankly declared that he had absolutely no intention of introducing a parliamentary form of government in India. A parliamentary form of government is a government in which Parliament is the supreme organ of government and all laws and policies are made by it. The members of Parliament are elected by the people for a fixed number of years after which elections are held again. (In India today we have a parliamentary form of government.) The autocratic form of government that had been introduced after the Revolt of 1857 remained unchanged even after Morley-Minto Reforms. The only change was that the government started appointing some Indians of its choice to certain high positions. Satyendra Prasanna Sinha who later became Lord Sinha was made a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council. Later he became the governor of a province. However, he was the only Indian to occupy such a high office during the entire period of British rule.

The Morley-Minto Reforms came as a disappointment even to the moderate leadership of the Congress. All were particularly unhappy over one particular feature of the reforms. The British, following their old policy of 'divide and rule', tried through these reforms to create disunity between Hindus and Muslims. For elections to the Councils, they introduced what are known as the Communal Electorates. According to it, certain number of Muslims were to be elected from amongst Muslims only. By this, the British hoped to cut off Muslims from the national movement by treating them as apart from the rest of the nation and by telling them that their interests were separate from the interests of other Indians. Many important Muslim leaders, including Muhammad Ali Jinnah, opposed this measure because it tried to create divisions within the Indian people on the basis of religion. Jinnah, as perhaps you know, later became the leader of a party which demanded the creation of Pakistan, a separate state for Muslims.

In 1911, a *Durbar* was held in Delhi at which King George V was also present. Two important announcements were made on the occasion. One was the annulment of the partition of Bengal which had been effected in 1905. The other was the shifting of the capital of British India from Calcutta to Delhi.

The Revolutionaries

Besides the Congress with its sections like the moderates and the extremists, there were other smaller groups that tried to overthrow the British rule. They resorted to the use of violence against unpopular British officials, governors and

viceroys. The names of some of these revolutionaries must be familiar to you. In 1908, Khudiram Bose and Profulla Chaki threw a bomb into a carriage in which, they thought a British judge, who had imposed severe punishments on Swadeshi workers, was travelling. Actually, two British women were travelling in the carriage and they were unfortunately killed. Chaki killed himself and Khudiram Bose was hanged. Many other persons were arrested following this incident for making bombs. Aurobindo also was among them. Aurobindo, however, gave up all political activities soon after and became a saint. He settled down in Pondicherry which was a French colony at that time. In 1912, a bomb was thrown at Viceroy Hardinge in Delhi. But he escaped

Indian revolutionaries were active in other parts of the world also. During the First World War (1914-1918), these groups tried to smuggle arms into India in order to organise armed rebellions to overthrow the British rule. In America, the leader of Indian revolutionaries was Hardyal. Many plans were made to overthrow the British rule. According to one of these, India was to be proclaimed a republic with Mahendra Pratap as President and Barkatullah as Prime Minister. However, all these plans failed. Many revolutionaries were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Although the revolutionaries did not succeed in their aims, their patriotism, determination and self-sacrifice were sources of inspiration to the Indian people. Their activities, however, had certain weaknesses. They, for example, believed that by killing certain individuals they would be able to free

India. They were organised into small groups and did not try to unite masses of people behind them. They failed to see that a powerful empire could not be defeated by individual act of violence. Only the united struggle of the entire nation could defeat it. Because of this, they were known as terrorists. However, their fearlessness was a source of strength to the Indian people.

Formation of the Muslim League

You have read before of the British policy of divide and rule. One of the main features of this policy was to create disunity between Hindus and Muslims by telling them that their interests were separate. First they discriminated against Muslims by treating them as their main enemies. Later when the nationalist movement started gaining strength they began favouring upper class Muslims to wean them away from the nationalist movement. However, in spite of these efforts, large numbers of Muslims joined the Congress as it voiced the demands of all Indians irrespective of religion. The British, however, succeeded in weaning away a section of upper class Muslims to their side and encouraged them to start separate organisations. A major reason for this was, as you have already read, that Muslims took to modern education, trade, and industry late. (You have read of the pioneering work done by Syed Ahmad Khan in the field of education.) They thought that they could make progress only if they became loyal to the government. The British government, of course, encouraged this belief. Some extremist leaders who were Hindus used religious beliefs and festivals to propagate nationalism. This gave an opportunity to those

Muslims who were pro-British to say that the nationalist movement was a movement of Hindus only and, therefore, they should have nothing to do with it.

One of the aims of the partition of Bengal, as you have already seen, was to divide Hindus and Muslims. In 1906, the Muslim League was formed. The lead in its formation was taken by the Agha Khan, the religious head of a sect among Muslims, and Nawab Salimulla of Dacca. They were encouraged by Viceroy Minto. Muslim League declared that its aims were to promote loyalty to the government, to protect and advance the interests of Muslims, and to ensure that Muslims did not develop feelings of hostility towards other communities in India.

Formation of political organisations on the basis of religion is an unhealthy thing in the political life of a people. Such organisations are harmful because they create the belief that the interests of one or the other community are distinct and separate from those of the rest. This belief prevents people from realising that the interests of one community can not be promoted unless the interests of the entire nation are promoted. The organisations promoting these beliefs, are called communal organisations. They directly or indirectly, create and promote hatred against other communities and thus stand in the way of national unity. People belonging to a nation may profess different faiths but they enjoy equal rights. One's religion is a matter of each citizen's personal belief and this belief should not be mixed up with political activities because political activities of the citizens of a nation relate to common problems of all the people constituting a nation.

However, in spite of the efforts of the British government the Muslim masses were drawn into the nationalist movement. Two of the leaders who emerged into prominence were Maulana Mohammed Ali and Abul Kalam Azad. They carried on nationalist propaganda among the people and brought them into the struggle for freedom. The Muslim League itself was influenced by the spread of anti-imperialist ideas. At the time of its formation, it had declared promotion of loyalty to the British government among Muslims as one of its aims. In 1913, however, it adopted the attainment of self government as its aim, as the Congress had done seven years before.

Nationalist Movement during the First World War

The rivalries between the two opposing groups of imperialist countries of Europe led to a war in 1914 which lasted up to 1918. This was the most widespread war that the world had so far seen. Therefore, it is known as the First World War. As in the earlier wars in which Britain was involved, Indian resources and soldiers were used by Britain in the First World War to pursue aims that had nothing to do with the interests of the Indian people.

During the war years, nationalist propaganda was intensified. There was a demand for the introduction of self-government in India. This is known as the agitation for Home Rule. Home Rule Leagues were formed under the leadership of Mrs. Annie Besant, Tilak and others. The other prominent leaders who joined the agitation for Home Rule were Motilal Nehru and C.R. Dass. The government resorted to repression. Mrs. Annie Besant was arrested and many newspapers were banned.

An important event during this period was the Lucknow Pact of 1916. The Congress and the Muslim League signed this pact to work together to demand elected majorities in the Councils. They also demanded that at least half the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be Indians. The coming together of the Congress and the Muslim League to fight together for common aims was an important development. In that year the moderates and the extremists were also reunited in the Congress, nine years after they had separated at the Surat session of the Congress.

Emergence of Gandhiji

It was during the years of the First World War that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi emerged as the leader of the Indian nationalist movement. He was the greatest of the leaders that modern India has produced. He brought about an awakening among the people of India and led them for over 30 years in their struggle for freedom. Because of the respect in which he was held, he came to be popularly known as Mahatma Gandhi.

He was born in 1869 and after completing his studies in England, went to South Africa as a lawyer. During his stay in South Africa, he fought against the oppression committed against the Indians living there. It was during this period that he developed his method of fighting oppression. This method was later embraced by the people of India in their struggle for independence. It is called satyagraha. The person offering satyagraha prepares himself to undergo any hardship and suffering including imprisonment. It is basically a non-violent method of fighting against injustice.

Gandhiji returned to India in 1915 and plunged himself in the struggle against oppression. One of his first struggles was launched in Champaran in Bihar. He took up the cause of the poor peasants against the excesses of the indigo planters in Champaran. The magistrate of the district forbade him from entering the area but he openly defied the order. The government was forced to inquire into the injustices committed by landlords and the indigo planters.

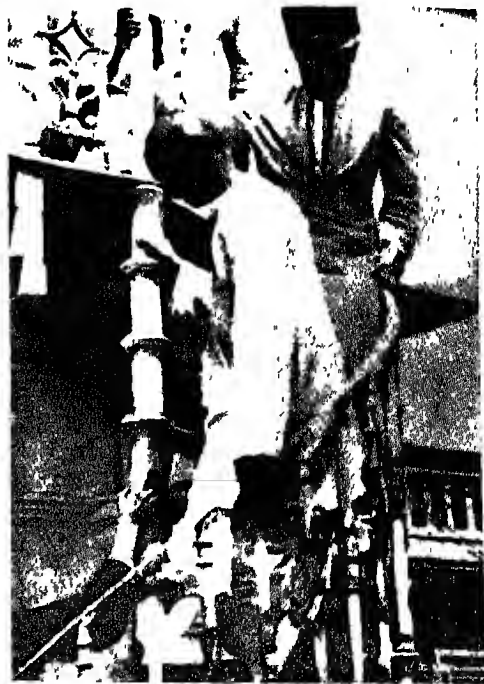
After the War was over, Gandhiji became the undisputed leader of the Indian people. The period after the War, as you will read later, was one of unprecedented mass upsurge. Millions of people were roused to action against foreign domination. He infused in them a spirit of fearlessness and the will to brave any repression, whether it was imprisonment, lathi-charge or firing. Some of the ways of fighting oppression practised by people under his leadership were open defiance of laws, boycott of courts, boycott of offices, non-payment of taxes, peaceful demonstrations, stoppage of business, and picketing of shops selling foreign goods. Some of these methods, you already know, were followed during the agitation against partition. However, under Gandhiji, these were launched on a massive scale with millions of people from different sections of society participating in the struggle. The nationalist movement became truly mass-based with the participation of peasantry and other poor people.

The mass character of the nationalist movement was also due to the social reforms and other constructive activities initiated by Gandhiji. He devoted himself to the fight against the inhuman practice of untouchability. As you

know, millions of Indians in those days led lives of humiliating degradation because they were considered 'untouchables' by people belonging to upper castes. One of Gandhiji's greatest contributions to the Indian people was his crusade to root out this evil. To him the so-called untouchables were Harijans. In his *ashrams* he and his followers performed the jobs which upper caste Hindus thought must be performed by the so-called untouchables, like cleaning of latrines.

Gandhiji also worked for the upliftment of the people living in villages. According to him, there could be no progress in India unless there was an improvement in the life of the people in villages where about 80 per

Gandhiji coming down from a mosque in Bombay after delivering a speech in 1919. Accompanying him is Umar Sobani. (Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library)



cent of Indians lived. He worked for the starting of small industries in villages. He popularised *Khadi*. It became essential

for every Congressman to wear Khadi. *Charkha* became an important symbol of this emphasis on village industries and was also made a part of the flag of the Congress.

Gandhiji was opposed to all things that divided man from man. He preached the message of universal brotherhood. He was an ardent champion of Hindu-Muslim unity and, as you know, he finally became a martyr to this cause.

Thus with Gandhiji the nationalist movement entered a new phase. It became a mass movement not only for freedom but also for reform of Indian society and for justice and brotherhood.

British Policy after the War

Britain and her allies during the War had said that they were fighting the War for the freedom of nations. Many Indian leaders believed that after the War was over, India would be given Swaraj. The British government, however, had no intention of conceding the demands of the Indian people.

The British government in 1919 announced some changes in the system of government of the country. These are known as Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms named after the then Secretary of State and the Viceroy respectively. According to these reforms, the Central Legislative Council came to have two houses—the Legislative Council and the Council of State. These houses were to have a majority of elected members. The provincial councils were to be enlarged and were to have elected majorities. The ministers in charge of some portfolios in provinces like education, public health, etc., were to be responsible to the Council but the important portfolios remained with the governors. The number of

voters who elected members of the Councils was limited as only men with property had the right to vote. All the important power remained with the Governor-General and his Executive Council who continued to be responsible to the British government and not to the Indian people. In the

"LET SATYAGRAHIS' STEEL THEIR HEARTS."

A WARNING TO WAYERERS.

"NO SHADOW OF DOUBT" OF ULTIMATE TRIUMPH.

(Associated Press)

Mr. Noddy has sent to Mr. H. Kancari Nanga Nyangar, the Vice President of the Balyanaba Sabha, Madras, the following telegram from Bombay, dated the 1st inst.

I hope the Indian Treasury will make the Chhatrapati West their
 home, and that the Government will reconsider their position. I have no
 doubt that they will be convinced by consulting with the Marathi people that
 the withdrawal of the Revolt exhibition, has made it impossible for
 the spirit of terrorism lying behind it to have any positive on Marathi
 life (from now on and seventy million). The more it is too great and
 cannot be damaged by any exhibition of protest. We have no right to
 say out against the exhibition which are well invited. Undoubtedly,
 there is a great reason for the acceptance of such a large sum for
 the Government of Delhi.

HINDU-MOSLEM UNION.

IMPRESSIVE SCENES AT JAMA MUSJID.
HINDU'S ADDRESS TO MOSLEM CONGREGATION.
GRAPHIC ACCOUNT.

(Kono On Chōmeigakushu)

Dawn, April 4
Some Mussalman, belonging to commu-
tal class, tossed a molre over their sign
a ghst announcing that su-
for the souls of the
vdy would

into the mosque, eager to participate in a
function they honestly regarded as a
time after the usual lull of Ramadan. At
least indiscriminately mixed in
spectator because the number has
to about twenty-five or thirty
persons (according to the
computer).

There were demonstrations all over the country in protest against Rowlatt Act. The government resorted to repression. Gandhiji, in a statement published in the *Independent*, exhorted Satyagrahis to steel their hearts. Below Gandhiji's statement is a report of a mass meeting held at Jama Masjid in Delhi to protest against the Rowlatt Act.

provinces, the Councils were still powerless as the governors continued to enjoy wide powers.

These changes were nowhere near the Swaraj that the people had hoped to achieve at the end of the War. There was widespread discontent throughout the country. In the midst of this discontent, the government resorted to measures of repression. Early in 1919, the Rowlatt Act was passed. It empowered the government to put people in jails without any trial. The passing of this Act aroused the indignation of the people. A movement of protest spread throughout the country. There were demonstrations and *hartals* all over the country. The government resorted to brutal measures to put down the agitation and there were lathi-charges and firings at a number of places.

The Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre

In the midst of this repression, a ghastly massacre took place at Amritsar. On 10 April two nationalist leaders, Satya Pal and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew were arrested. There is a small park in Amritsar called the Jallianwalla Bagh. The park is enclosed on three sides by high walls. A narrow lane leads to the park. On 13 April people gathered there to protest against the arrest of the two leaders. The meeting was peaceful. There were many old men, women and children in the meeting. Suddenly, a British officer General Dyer entered the park with his troops. Without even giving a warning to the people to disperse, he ordered his troops to fire. The troops fired with machine-guns at the unarmed crowd for ten minutes and then left. In those ten minutes about a thousand persons were killed and about 2000 were

wounded. The bullet marks can be still seen on the walls.



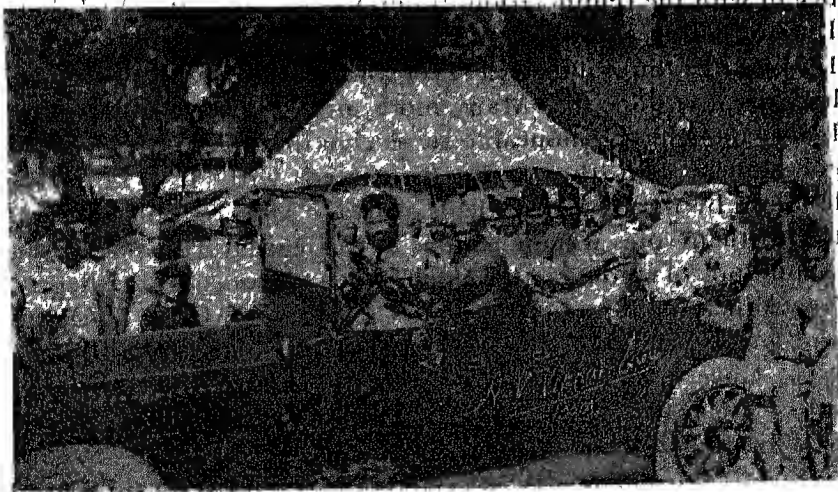
In Jallianwala Bagh the marks of bullets can still be seen on the walls. (Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library)

The massacre had been a calculated act and Dyer declared with pride that he had done it to produce moral effect on the people. He had no regrets. He went to England and some Englishmen collected money to honour him. Others were shocked at this act of beastliness and demanded an inquiry.

The massacre aroused the fury of the Indian people and the government replied with further brutalities. People

in Punjab were made to crawl. They were put in open cages and flogged. A reign of terror, like the one that followed the suppression of the Revolt of 1857, was let loose. However, these brutalities only added fuel to the fire, and the agitation against the British rule grew more powerful. The British rule in India began to wobble. The Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement

The growing revolt against the British rule led to the launching of the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movements. Turkey had fought against Britain in the First World War. At the end of the War, Turkey which was one of the defeated countries, suffered injustices at the hands of Britain. In 1919, a movement was organised under the leadership of Maulana



Ali Brothers being taken in a procession in Amritsar in 1919.
(Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library)

Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, popularly known as Ali brothers, and Abul Kalam Azad, to force the British government to undo these injustices. All these three leaders had been imprisoned by the government during the War and were released after it. The movement organised by them soon merged with the movement against the repression in Punjab and for Swaraj.

In 1920, the Congress, under Gandhiji's leadership, adopted a new programme of struggle against the government. It is called the Non-Cooperation movement. The movement had aimed at undoing the injustices done to Punjab and Turkey and the attainment of Swaraj. It is called the Non-Cooperation movement because of the methods adopted in this movement. It was launched in stages. It began with the renunciation of honorary titles like 'Sir' that Indians had received from the British government. Some Indians like Subrahmanya Iyer and Rabindranath Tagore had already done so. Many more did so now. Indians no longer thought it honourable to receive titles from the British government and thus to be associated with it. This was followed by the boycott of legislatures. Most people refused to cast their votes when elections to the legislatures were held. Thousands of students and teachers left schools and colleges. New educational institutions like the Jamia Millia at Delhi and Kashi Vidya Peeth at Benaras were started by nationalists. Government servants resigned their jobs. Lawyers boycotted law courts. Foreign cloth was burnt in bonfires. There were strikes and *hartals*.

The movement was a great success and the firings and arrests could not stem its tide. Before the year 1921 was out 30,000 people were in jail. They included most of the pro-

minent leaders. Gandhiji, however, was still free. The 1921 session of the Congress was presided over by Hakim Ajmal Khan and it was decided to continue the movement. The final stage of the Non-Cooperation movement was now launched. People were called upon to refuse to pay taxes. It was started by Gandhiji in Bardoli in Gujarat. It was a very important stage because when people openly declare that they would not pay taxes to the government, they mean that they no longer recognise that the government collecting taxes is legitimate. This is a very powerful method of fighting an oppressive government. Gandhiji had always emphasised that the entire movement should be peaceful. However, people were not always able to contain themselves. In Chauri Chaura in Uttar Pradesh, people in their anger attacked a police station and set fire to it. Some policemen were killed. Gandhiji, hearing the news of the incident, called off the movement. He was arrested and imprisoned.

With the calling off of the movement, one more phase of the nationalist movement was over. In this movement large masses of people participated all over the country. The nationalist movement was no longer confined to the educated people or to the people living in cities. It spread to the villages also. People came out in open defiance of the government to demand Swaraj. The movement also strengthened the unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. One of the most popular slogans was 'Hindu Musalman Ki Jai'.

For some years after the Non-Cooperation movement was called off, Gandhiji devoted himself entirely to the rooting out of social evils like untouchability. Progress was achieved in the spread of national education. The task of the

Upliftment of villages was also taken up. These years were relatively quiet but people were getting ready for the final phase of the struggle. Gandhiji had united the people and by bringing them into the movement paved the way for the coming mass upsurge for independence.

EXERCISES

Answer the following questions.

1. What were the main differences between the moderates and the extremists?
2. What do you know of the partition of Bengal? Why and when was it effected? What was its impact on the growth of Indian nationalism?
3. What is meant by the Swadeshi and Boycott movements? How and why arouse the feeling of nationalism among the Indian people?
4. What were the major features of the Morley-Minto Reforms? Why did the nationalist leaders condemn them?
5. Describe the main development in the nationalist movement during the First World War.
6. What methods did Gandhiji advocate in the struggle for freedom?
7. What was the British policy in India immediately after the First World War?
8. What were the aims of the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation movements? What were the methods adopted to achieve those aims?
9. Who were the revolutionaries? What were the methods adopted by them to overthrow the British rule?
10. Write short notes on (i) Lucknow Pact; (ii) Jallianwalla Bagh massacre.

II. Given below are a few statements. Put a tick mark if the statement is true and a cross mark if it is false.

1. In 1905 Bengal was partitioned with a view to create disunity among Hindus and Muslims.
2. The Swadeshi movement was started by Gandhiji in 1905.
3. The Act of 1909 did not satisfy the aspirations of Indians.
4. Muslim League was formed in 1906.
5. Home Rule Leagues were formed during the First World War.
6. The Congress adopted the attainment of Swaraj as its aim for the first time in 1910.

III. Given below are events and movements in Column A and names of some persons in Column B connected with them. Match Column A with Column B.

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| 1. Formation of Muslim League | Lord Curzon |
| 2. Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements | Dadabhai Naoroji |
| 3. Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre | General Dyer |
| 4. Partition of Bengal | Agha Khan |
| 5. Congress Session of 1906 | Ali Brothers |

IV. Things to do :

1. Collect photographs of some important leaders connected with the Indian National Movement. Paste them in your album.
2. Prepare a time line showing on it some important landmarks in the struggle for freedom from 1905 to 1922.
3. Prepare a list of the names of Presidents of the Indian National Congress from 1905 to 1922.
4. Try to collect more information on the life of Gandhiji with the help of your teacher. Prepare an essay on the basis of your readings and read it to your classmates.

CHAPTER XII

Achievement of Independence

AFTER the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation movement, for some time the situation in India was relatively calm. There were two main groups within the Congress. One of these groups formed the Swaraj Party. It favoured entry into the legislative councils that had been formed as a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. This group was led by C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru. They won a large number of seats in the Central Legislative Assembly in 1923. However, they found that they could not achieve much in the existing system of government and in 1926 they left the Council. The other group engaged itself in the constructive programme proposed by Gandhiji. Some of the important leaders of this group were Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Ansari and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Emergence of New Leaders

These years of relative calm were also the years when the Indian people prepared themselves for the final phase of their struggle for freedom. A new group of young leaders arose in the nationalist movement. They laid increased emphasis on organising the masses. They helped in clarifying the aims of the nationalist movement. In its early years, as you have seen, the nationalist movement was confined mainly to

the educated people and the middle classes. Its aims, like the representation of Indians in the higher services and the government, were also the aims of the middle class. However, with Gandhiji and with the rise of the new young leaders, the objectives of the nationalist movement became more and more related to the needs of the common people. They stressed that the people alone were sovereign and the nationalist movement could succeed only if it based itself on the aspirations of the common people. They emphasised that independence was necessary for removing India's poverty and backwardness. The aim of the nationalist movement, according to them, was the reconstruction of Indian society—to root out poverty and backwardness and to establish a society based on equality and justice. For this, independence had to be achieved first. And independence could be won only through the struggle of the people themselves.

These new leaders held great appeal for the youth of the country. They were influenced by ideas of socialism that were beginning to spread in India. You have read before that in 1917 a revolution occurred in Russia. The success of socialism in Russia had a deep influence on India. Of particular interest to India were the changes that began to take place in the Asian parts of the old Russian empire. These areas began to develop fast after the revolution. In foreign affairs the new government of the U.S.S.R. (the old Russian Empire was renamed the Union of Socialist Republics after the Revolution advocated the abolition of imperialism everywhere. The foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. was different from that of other Western countries which continued to oppress the people of the countries over whom they had

ideas and strengthened the nationalist movement by making the establishment of a society based on equality of the people as its aim.

The most prominent of the new leaders were Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose. Jawaharlal Nehru was the son of Motilal Nehru who was an important leader of the Congress. He was born in 1889 and received his education in England. On his return to India, he came under the influence of Gandhiji, and joined the struggle for freedom. During the Non-Cooperation movement, he was imprisoned. During his tours through the villages of Uttar Pradesh, he came into contact with the peasants and saw their sufferings. He became a champion of the aspirations of the common people for a better life. To him the struggle to improve the conditions of the people was inseparable from the struggle for independence. He was one of the first nationalist leaders to realise the sufferings of the people in the states ruled by Indian princes. The condition in most of these states was worse than in the rest of the country. He suffered imprisonment in Nabha, a princely state, when he went there to see the struggle that was being waged by the Akali Sikhs against the corrupt Mahants. He realised that the nationalist movement could not be really national unless it took up the cause of the people in the princely states who were a part and parcel of the Indian nation. The nationalist movement had been confined to the territories under direct British rule. Jawaharlal helped make the struggle of the people in the princely states a part of the nationalist movement for freedom. Next to Gandhiji, he became the biggest leader of the Indian people in their struggle for freedom.

Subhash Chandra Bose was born in 1897. After receiving his education at Calcutta and in England, he plunged himself into the nationalist movement. He participated in the Non-Cooperation movement and came under the influence of C.R. Das. In 1924 he was arrested and imprisoned. He played a very important role in organising students and youth of the country and bringing them into the struggle for freedom. He was one of the biggest leaders of the nationalist movement and came to be popularly known as Netaji.

Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose were the leaders of a new group in the nationalist movement. They wanted a more intense struggle against the British rule. They were not satisfied with the slogan of Swaraj which, as you know, was adopted by the Congress in 1906. It meant self-government within the empire and thus it was less than complete independence. They advocated the adoption of complete independence as the aim of the nationalist movement and the active participation of the common people as the only way to achieve this aim. Under their influence, the nationalist movement became increasingly militant.

The Simon Commission

The quiet that seemed to prevail in India after 1922 was broken in 1927. In that year, the British government appointed a Commission to suggest if any further reforms were needed in the system of government established after the changes that had been introduced under the Act of 1919. This Commission is known as the Simon Commission after the name of its chairman. Its appointment came as a rude shock to the Indian people. The members of the Commission were all Englishmen and not a single Indian was included in it.

The government showed no inclination of accepting the demand for Swaraj. The composition of the Commission confirmed the fears of the Indian people.

The appointment of the Commission sparked off a wave of protest all over the country. In 1927, the annual session of the Congress was held at Madras. It decided to boycott the Commission. The Muslim League also decided to boycott the Commission.

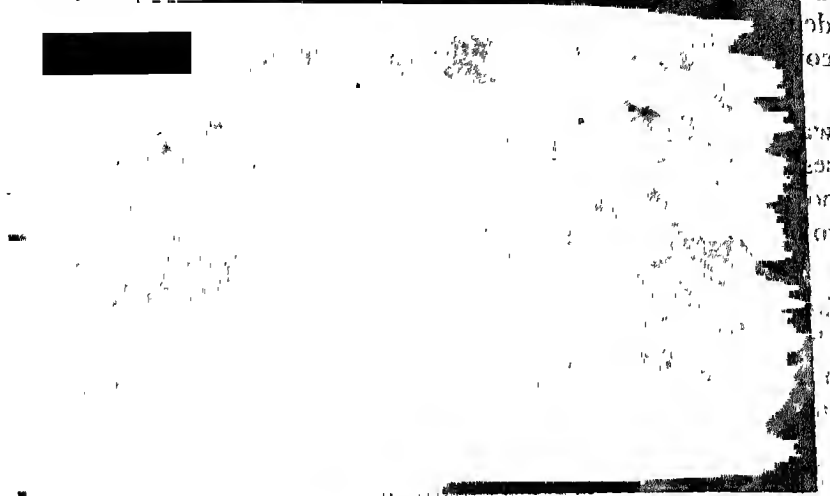
The Commission arrived in India early in 1928 and faced demonstrations and *hartals* wherever it went. The Central Legislative Assembly by majority decided that it would have nothing to do with the Commission. All over the country the cry of 'Simon Go Back' was raised. The police resorted to repressive measures. There were lathi-charges at a number of places and thousands of people were beaten up. It was during these demonstrations that the great nationalist leader Lala Lajpat Rai who was popularly known as *Shere-e-Punjab* was severely assaulted by the police. He succumbed to the injuries inflicted on him by the police.

In the agitation against the Simon Commission the Indian people once again showed their unity and determination for freedom. They now prepared themselves for a bigger struggle.

Demand for Complete Independence

When the Congress met at its annual session at Lahore in 1929, it was in a new atmosphere. The President of the session was Jawaharlal Nehru. This was an evidence of the influence on the Congress of the new leaders who had been demanding a more intense struggle against the British rule.

the government of India to ...



Police beating up people gathered to celebrate the Independence Day in Calcutta on 26 January 1931.

(Courtesy : *Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya Samiti*)

It was a very important event because at this session the Congress adopted a resolution demanding complete Independence. To achieve this aim, it was decided to launch a Civil Disobedience movement. The Congress also decided that 26 January would be observed as Independence Day all over the country every year. On 26 January 1930, Independence Day was observed all over the country and the people took a pledge that they would not submit to British rule any longer. This day which was observed as Independence Day every year became an important day in the history of the Indian people.

Civil Disobedience Movement. The observance of the Independence Day in 1930 was followed by the launching of the Civil Disobedience movement under the leadership of Gandhiji. It began with the famous Dandi March of Gandhiji. On 12 March 1930, Gandhiji left Ahmedabad on foot for a village called Dandi on the western sea coast. He reached there on 5 April where he defied the law by making salt. The government had a monopoly in salt and it was illegal for anyone else to make salt. The defiance of the Salt Law was followed by the spread of Civil Disobedience movement all over the country. There were demonstrations, *hartals*, boycott of foreign goods and refusal to pay taxes. Lakhs of people participated in the movement, including a large number of women.

As in the previous years, the Government resorted to repression to suppress the movement. All the important leaders including Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru were arrested.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Popularly known as Frontier Gandhi. He organised the people of the North-West Frontier Province in the struggle for freedom.



There were firings and lathi-charges and hundreds of people were killed. About 90,000 persons were imprisoned within a year of the movement. The movement had spread

to every corner of the country. In the North-West Frontier Province, the movement was led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who came to be popularly known as the Frontier Gandhi (Sarhadi Gandhi). A significant event took place there during this movement. Two platoons of Garhwali soldiers were ordered to fire at demonstrators in the city of Peshawar but they refused to obey the orders.

In 1930, the British government convened a conference but nothing came out of it. Early in 1931, efforts were made by Viceroy Irwin to persuade the Congress to join the second conference. An agreement was reached between Gandhiji and Irwin according to which the government agreed to release all the political prisoners against whom there were no charges of violence. The Congress was to suspend the Civil Disobedience movement. Many nationalist leaders were unhappy at the agreement. However, at its Karachi session the Congress decided to approve the agreement and participate in the Conference in London, called the Second Round Table Conference. Gandhiji was chosen to represent the Congress at the Conference which met in September 1931.

At the Karachi session of the Congress, an important resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy was passed. It laid down the policy of the nationalist movement on social and economic problems facing the country. It mentioned the fundamental rights that would be guaranteed to the people irrespective of caste and religion, and favoured nationalisation of certain industries, promotion of Indian industries, and schemes for the welfare of workers and peasants. Thus its aim was to establish a welfare state in India,

The Round Table Conference was a failure as no agreement could be reached. Gandhiji returned to India and the Civil Disobedience movement was revived. The government repression had been continuing even while the Conference was going on and now it was intensified. Gandhiji and other leaders were arrested. The government's efforts to suppress the movement may be seen from the fact that in about a year 1,20,000 persons were sent to jail. However, it was withdrawn in 1934. The Congress passed an important resolution in 1934. It demanded that a constituent assembly, elected by the people on the basis of adult franchise, be convened. It declared that only such an assembly could frame a constitution for India. It thus asserted that only the people had the right to decide the form of government under which they would live.

The Terrorist Revolutionaries

The 1920s saw a resurgence in the activities of terrorist revolutionaries. As you have seen before, the terrorists believed that by the use of terror against oppressive high British officials, they would succeed in making the country free. As they were ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause of country's freedom, they had set an example of heroism and patriotism before their countrymen. You may also have realized that acts of individual terrorism could not be effective in dislodging a mighty empire. It could be possible only when the entire people rose up to throw out the foreign domination. During the early 1920s, when the mass movement was at its height, the activities of terrorists had declined.

However, when the movement suffered a setback after the withdrawal of Non-Cooperation, they increased once more.

In 1925, many revolutionaries were convicted to

Bhagat Singh, the great revolutionary in jail.



long terms of imprisonment and four were hanged. Among these four were the famous revolutionaries Ashfaquallah and Ram Prasad Bismil. In 1925 some revolutionaries formed a new organisation under the leadership of Chandra Shekhar Azad. Other famous revolutionaries of this group were Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukh Dev and Batukeshwar Dutt. You have read of the death of Lala Lajpat Rai as a result of the lathi blows at the hands of the police. These revolutionaries avenged this assault by assassinating the Superintendent of Police of Lahore. Their most dramatic act took place in 1929 when Bhagat Singh and Dutt threw a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly. No one was hurt as the bomb was thrown

not with the aim to kill but as a form of protest. Bhagat Singh and Dutt made no attempt to escape but stood there shouting the slogan "Long Live Revolution". They were arrested along with the other members of their group with the exception of Chandra Shekhar Azad. They were brutally treated in jail and one of the prisoners, Jatin Das, died when he went on a hunger strike for 63 days in protest against the treatment meted out to them by the jail authorities. Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were sentenced to death. There was a wave of strong protest by the people demanding their release but they were put to death in 1931.

In 1930 revolutionaries in Bengal led by Surya Sen attacked the government armoury at Chittagong. Surya Sen was later arrested and put to death. Chandra Shekhar Azad could not be arrested but he was shot dead by the police in an encounter in a park in Allahabad.

These and many more revolutionaries by their heroic sacrifice inspired in the people the determination to end the foreign rule. Although most of the people fighting for independence followed non-violent methods of struggle, these revolutionaries were a constant source of inspiration to them.

Spread of Socialist Ideas

You have read of the rise and spread of socialist ideas and movement following the Industrial Revolution in Europe. In India also these ideas and movements began to take shape in the twentieth century. You have already read of the influence of the Russian Revolution on the nationalist movement in the 1920s. In the meantime workers and peasants

had started forming their own organisations to defend their rights and to promote their common interests. They formed trade unions and *Kisan Sabhas* for this purpose. In 1920, the All India Trade Union Congress was formed under the leadership of N.M. Joshi. For many years it was the only all-India organisation of workers. The workers organised in the trade unions not only worked for improvement in their conditions of work but also participated in the movement for independence by resorting to strikes. The new leaders of the Congress like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose helped in organising the workers and brought them into active political battles for freedom. In 1929 a number of labour leaders including three Englishmen who were helping in organising the workers, were arrested and tried. Many nationalist leaders appeared in court in their defence.

The Kisan Sabhas similarly agitated for reforms in the system of ownership of land. As you know, a large number of peasants in India did not own any land and worked either as share-croppers or labourers. The peasants demanded the abolition of landlordism and transfer of the ownership of the land to the actual tillers. In the struggle for independence, the peasants were not lagging behind. Actually, it was their large-scale participation that gave the nationalist movement its mass character. In 1938, the peasants also formed their all-India organisation.

With the growth of these movements and with the spread of the ideas of socialism, the nationalist movement gradually came to express many of the demands of workers and peasants. At the Karachi Congress, for example, the Congress demanded

a maximum 8-hour working day for workers. Similarly, it called for equitable distribution of land in the interests of peasants.

Jawaharlal Nehru played a very important role in spreading the ideas of socialism in India. He stressed that it was necessary to link the freedom struggle with the struggle of the working men for a better life. At the Lucknow session of the Congress in 1938 when he was the President, Nehru in his address advocated that socialism be accepted as the goal of the Congress. With the growing influence of socialist ideas, the Congress adopted the reconstruction of Indian society on the principles of equality and justice as one of its aims. Thus the establishment of a just social order became the aim of the nationalist movement.

Another evidence of the growing popularity of socialist ideas was the formation of parties that were wedded to these ideas. These were the Communist Party of India and the Congress Socialist Party. These parties usually worked within the Congress and tried to influence it to adopt policies in favour of the poorer sections of society. Their main support was among workers and peasants whom they organised to fight for their economic demands and to participate in the struggle for independence.

Movement in the Princely States

As you have read in Chapter VIII, there were about 562 states in India ruled by Indian princes after 1858. The British government followed a policy of maintaining these states to strengthen their own power. These states had no real

independence. In most of these states, the condition of people was even worse than that of the people in rest of the country. Most of them were treated as personal properties of the rulers. The rulers led lives of luxury. But no efforts were made to remove poverty or to improve the living condition of the people. People in the princely states had hardly any civil rights as most rulers acted as if their personal whims were laws. Many of these states still maintained many inhuman practices like forced labour, that is, making people work without paying them any wages. With the rise of the nationalist movement in British India, there was an awakening among the people of these states. They demanded democratic rights and democratic form of government. They condemned the extravagance and luxury of their rulers.

Organisations were formed to demand reforms in these states. Later they formed the All India States Peoples' Conference. Jawaharlal Nehru played a leading role in the movement of the people of the states. Gradually it became a part of the larger struggle for independence. The movement for national independence could not be complete unless it included the people of the princely states because the aim of the nationalist movement was to achieve independence and establish a unified Indian nation. After the Congress had adopted the slogan of Purna Swaraj (Complete Independence), it declared that it considered these states as parts of the Indian nation, and that the people of these states would have the same political, economic and social rights as the people in the rest of the country. Thus the emancipation of the people living in princely states became an integral part of the struggle for national independence and unity.

The Act of 1935 and the Nationalist Movement

You have read before that following the Simon Commission, conferences were held in England to discuss changes in the structure of the government. The Congress participated only in the second of the three conferences. The Congress, as you know, had declared that only the Indian people were competent to decide as to what kind of constitution would be framed for the government of the country. For this, it had demanded the convening of a Constituent Assembly elected by the Indian people, each Indian adult enjoying the right to vote.

The British government, however, ignored this demand and in August 1935 announced the Government of India Act. According to this Act, India was to become a federation that would include the Indian states. Thus states were to send a large number of representatives to the two houses of the central legislature. However, the provisions with regard to the federation were not implemented.

With regard to the provincial administration, the Act of 1935 was an improvement on the previous position. It introduced what is known as provincial autonomy. The ministers of the provincial governments, according to it, were responsible to the legislature. The powers of the legislature were increased. However, in certain matters like the police, the governors had the authority. The right to vote also remained limited. Only about 14 per cent of the population got the right to vote. The appointment of governor-general and governors was still in the hands of the British government and they were not responsible to the legislatures. The Act was a

far cry from independence that the nationalist movement had been struggling for.

At its 1936 session held at Lucknow, under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress rejected the Act of 1935. It reiterated the demand for a Constituent Assembly. However, it decided to participate in the elections that were held in 1937.

You may remember that for many years after the Lucknow Pact of 1916, the Congress and the Muslim League had worked together. However, after the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation movement, they had again fallen apart. The Muslim League claimed to be the representative of the Muslim community in India. The Congress, as you know, was an organisation of all Indians irrespective of religion. Many of its most prominent leaders were Muslims. You have read before that at the time of Morley-Minto reforms, separate election of Muslim representatives was introduced. It had been condemned by the nationalist movement as a deliberate policy of the British government to create disunity among the Indian people. However, the separate representation of Muslims became a feature of the Act of 1919 and later of the Act of 1935. It had succeeded to some extent in weakening the struggle for independence by creating dissensions among the people. However, the British rulers had not succeeded much as became clear in the elections that were held in 1937.

The Congress swept the polls almost everywhere. In six provinces it won absolute majority of seats. In three others, it was the single largest party. The Muslim League that

claimed to represent all the Muslims secured less than a quarter of the seats reserved for Muslims. In the North-West Frontier province where the nationalist movement had been growing under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Muslim League did not have influence. The result of the election showed that the parties based on religion did not have much influence.

The Congress formed its ministries in seven out of 11 provinces. In two more it formed governments with the help of other parties. These ministries did some useful work in the field of education, and also improved the lot of the peasants. They released people who had been imprisoned for participating in the struggle for freedom. The bans on newspapers which were there for a long time were also lifted. As they did not enjoy wide powers under the Act of 1935, their achievements were limited.

Many nationalist leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose were opposed to the formation of ministries by the Congress. They wanted complete independence and were in favour of launching a movement to achieve it. Some of the moderates in the Congress were, however, not in favour of launching the movement immediately. Subhash Chandra Bose contested for presidentship of the Congress in 1939 against a moderate candidate and was elected. However, he resigned when differences arose between him and Gandhiji. He then formed the Forward Bloc. As you will see later, Subhash Chandra Bose organised Azad Hind Fauj outside India during the Second World War to overthrow the British rule in India.

Communal Parties and their Role

You have read how the British government followed a policy of encouraging dissensions among the Indian people to maintain their rule and to weaken the nationalist movement. One of their main tactics as you have seen before, was to give encouragement to communalism. That is how the Muslim League was formed. The virus of communalism began to gain strength in the 1920s. Some Hindus also formed their communal organisations though they were not very influential. Movements of religious conversion were started amongst Hindus and Muslims. In the 1920s, there were riots in the name of religion and many innocent people were killed.

Parties based on religion played a very harmful role in the struggle for independence. Though they professed to serve the interest of their communities, they actually served the interests of British rulers. During periods when thousands were in jail for participating in the struggle for freedom, the communal parties kept themselves aloof. Sometimes they joined hands together and cooperated with the British government. For example, during the agitation against Simon Commission, some leaders of these parties welcomed the Simon Commission. At the Round Table Conference, they fought over petty things with one another and indulged in bargaining with the British government. You may remember that the nationalist movement led by the Congress boycotted two of the three sessions of the Round Table Conference. The Congress advocated that the constitution of India could be framed only by the Indian people themselves and not in

England. While the nationalist movement stood for the reconstruction of Indian society on the basis of equality of all Indians, the communal parties were opposed even to social reforms. According to them, the interest of all Indians were not common. That is why instead of fighting for independence, they concentrated their energies on getting concessions from the British government for their respective communities. They represented the interests of the upper classes of their communities and not of the common people. The pressing problems of the common people, like the removal of poverty, did not interest them.

The activities of the communal parties took a dangerous turn when they started saying that the Indian people were not one nation. They advanced the theory that there were two nations in India, the Hindus and the Muslims. While the nationalist movement united the people on the basis of their common aspirations to take India on to the road of progress, the communal parties questioned the very basis of Indian nationhood. As you have read in your books on ancient and medieval India, the Indian people through the centuries of their history had developed a rich common culture. It was rich because of its variety. The Indian nation consists of people who owe allegiance to different religions, speak different languages and practise different customs. This richness has been a source of pride to the Indian people and is something to be cherished. However, while the nationalist movement strengthened the bonds that united the parties tried to divide them.

The theory that Indian people were composed of two nations was a denial of the entire history of the Indian people. It had harmful consequences for the Indian people. The Muslim League gradually became wedded to the two-nation theory. It said that as Muslims constituted a minority of the Indian population, their interest could not be safe. Mohammad Ali Jinnah who in the early years of the twentieth century had been a nationalist leader became later on the most prominent leader of the Muslim League. Under his leadership, the Muslim League started thinking in terms of a separate State for Muslims. In 1940 at the Lahore session, Muslim League demanded the creation of Pakistan.

The demand for a separate State was opposed by large sections of Muslims. In the struggle for independence, Muslims along with the people belonging to other communities had participated, and like others they had suffered from the repressive measures of the British government. They were in the Congress in large numbers. The organisations of the workers and peasants brought together people of all communities for common social, economic and political aims. Many of the greatest leaders of the nationalist movement were Muslims. Most of the religious leaders of the Muslims were also opposed to the Muslim League and the demand for a separate State. They saw that the destiny of Muslims was tied with that of other Indians and the immediate problem was to overthrow the foreign rule. The Muslims, the Hindus, the Sikhs, the Christians and others had the same problems—problems of poverty, backwardness, inequality. And these problems could be tackled only if the country was free and

the nation remained united. In the struggle for independence, the common people had realised these things. That is why neither the Muslim League nor the communal groups among Hindus were able to have much influence. For example, in areas like the North-West Frontier Province where the Muslims constituted an overwhelming majority of the population, the Muslim League failed to have any influence.

However, in spite of the fact that an overwhelming majority of the people were not misled by the propaganda of the communal parties, the communal parties succeeded in making some headway. The communal riots instigated by the communal parties further worsened the situation. The two-nation theory and the demand for a separate State led to disastrous consequences.

Nationalist Movement and the World

As you have seen before, the nationalist movement drew inspiration from happenings and ideas in the world at large. Besides, many people in other countries, including Britain, supported the cause of Indian independence. Organisations were formed in other countries by Indians with the help of the local people. Dadabhai Naoroji had formed an organisation in England late in the nineteenth century with the help of many enlightened Englishmen to mobilise support in favour of Indian people's demands. Later on India Leagues were formed in Britain, the U.S.A. and other countries. Many labour and socialist leaders and thinkers were closely connected with the India League in Britain. Similarly, many trade union and socialist leaders had come to India to help in the organisation of labour and socialist movement.

A major feature of the Indian nationalist movement was that while fighting for independence, it did not create any hatred against other countries including against the people of Britain. For this, great credit goes to Gandhiji who preached love and universal brotherhood and condemned acts based on hatred against others. The Indian people also were aware that the policies pursued by the British rulers in India were also not in the interests of the common people of Britain. They had learned to differentiate between the rulers and the people. While they fought against the rulers, they did not have any hard feelings for the common people of Britain whose support they tried to get in favour of independence for India. The nationalist movement was aware that the interests of the common people of all countries were the same. The Indian people saw their own struggle as a part of the struggle of the people everywhere for independence, democracy and social equality. They, therefore, took an active interest in the developments taking place in the world at large, particularly those relating to the struggles for independence in other countries, the struggles against oppression and for democracy. They, therefore, developed an international outlook.

Jawaharlal Nehru played a leading role in the development of an international outlook among the Indian people. The cause of freedom and democracy in other countries was as dear to him as the cause of India's independence. He made the Indian people aware of the developments in the world and helped in forging links with the people fighting for freedom

and democracy in other countries. He said that freedom was indivisible, that is, no nation's freedom could be secure unless every nation was free. Similarly, democracy and prosperity were indivisible. So was peace. Through him the nationalist movement established links with the struggle of other peoples. In 1927 the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities was held in Brussels (Belgium). Many great men of the world like Albert Einstein and Romain Rolland had worked for it. Jawaharlal Nehru attended this Congress. An international organisation called the League Against Imperialism was formed which campaigned for the abolition of imperialism everywhere. The Congress was affiliated to this League.

Japan, as has been mentioned before, had become an imperialist power. In 1931 she invaded China. The Indian nationalists extended their support to the Chinese people against Japanese invaders. Indian doctors went to China and worked to relieve the sufferings of the people there.

In Europe in the 1930s fascism emerged powerful in many countries of Europe. In Italy and Germany, fascist governments were formed. These governments let loose a reign of terror against their own people and destroyed even the basic liberties of the people. They preached hatred against other peoples and said that they had a right to rule over them. Hitler who had come to power in Germany started the extermination of Jews. Germany and Italy were joined by Japan in planning wars of conquest against other peoples. The fascists of Spain revolted against the democratic government of Spain and were actively supported by Italy and Germany. The national leaders were aware of the danger

that fascism posed to the freedom of other countries and to peace. They supported the people of Spain who were fighting to defend themselves against fascism. People of many countries, including some from India, went to Spain to fight with the Spanish people in their battle for freedom. Jawaharlal Nehru went to Spain and extended the support of the Indian people to the people of Spain.



Jawaharlal Nehru and V.K. Krishna Menon with the Republican fighters in Spain. (*Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library*)

The imperialist countries of the West encouraged the fascist countries in their aggressive policies. They hoped that these countries would destroy Russia and Communism. Italy had started the invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia). Hitler occupied Czechoslovakia with the connivance of other

western countries. Jawaharlal Nehru and the nationalist movement condemned the attitude of the western countries. Nehru refused to meet Mussolini, the dictator of Italy, when the latter expressed a desire to meet him. The cause of freedom and democracy everywhere in the world had become dear to the Indian people. When India became independent, she gave powerful support to the freedom movements of other countries and it became a basic feature of the foreign policy of independent India.

Nationalist Movement during the Second World War

The aggressive and expansionist policies of the fascist countries led to the outbreak of the Second World War. You have read about the First World War before. The Second World War started in September 1939 when Hitler's armies invaded Poland. Hitler had already occupied Austria and Czechoslovakia. Britain and France had appeased Germany over Czechoslovakia, and had refused to come to the aid of Spain. They had also refused to come to an agreement with the USSR to meet the fascist aggression in the hope that fascist countries would attack and destroy the USSR. However, with the German invasion of Poland, they found themselves at war with Germany. With this the most widespread and brutal war in the history of mankind broke out.

With the outbreak of hostilities the British government made India a party to the war without consulting the Indian people. As you have already seen, the Indian nationalists were aware of the dangers of fascism and had extended their

support to the people of China, Spain, Abyssinia and others who had suffered at the hands of fascist powers. Throughout this period, the western countries had looked upon these aggressions with unconcern. Their hatred of communism which the fascist countries said they were fighting against had blinded them to the danger that fascism posed to their own independence. When the War broke out, the Indian nationalist movement condemned the fascist countries. Even though the fascist countries were fighting against Britain which ruled over the Indian people, the Indian people knew that the fascist countries were not their friends either. They were aware that no country's independence could be secure if the fascist countries were victorious.

Immediately after the War was declared, the Congress made its stand clear. It condemned Germany, Italy and Japan and expressed its sympathies with the victims of these countries. However, Britain which now claimed to be fighting for freedom, had enslaved the Indian people and dragged India into the War without consulting them. The Congress demanded that an Indian government should be immediately formed and that Britain should promise that India would become independent as soon as the War was over. However, the British government refused to meet this demand. The Congress ministries that had been formed in the provinces resigned.

In 1941, Germany attacked Russia and Japan attacked the naval base of the United States at Pearl Harbour. With this, these two countries were also drawn into the War. The aims of the countries fighting against fascist countries were now clearly stated. They expressed their support to the

independence of all nations and to the right of all peoples to choose for themselves the form of government under which they would live. The War thus became one might of effort for the independence of all nations and for democracy. But the British government declared that the principles of self-determination did not apply to India. Indian nationalist leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad who condemned fascism as the enemy of humanity said that the Indian people would join the fight against fascism once they were in control of the government of their country. However, the British government refused to promise independence even after the end of the War.



Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru taking part in a meeting of the Congress in Bombay on 7 August 1942. (Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library)

In August 1942, Gandhiji raised the slogan of 'Quit India'. It was decided to launch a mass civil disobedience movement to force Britain to quit India. Immediately after, all the prominent leaders including Gandhiji, Nehru, Azad, were arrested. The Congress was banned. The people all over the country were furious and the battle-cry of 'Quit India' was raised. There were demonstrations and many people resorted to violence to end the foreign rule. The police and the army were brought in to suppress the movement which came to be known as the 'Quit India Movement'. Within a few months, hundreds of people were killed and over 70,000 put in prisons. There was a famine in Bengal and about 3 million people were starved to death. It was the most terrible famine in the twentieth century in India.

Another major development in the movement for independence was the formation of the Indian National Army by Subhash Chandra Bose. He had escaped from India in 1941 and had started organising an army to overthrow British rule from India. The army was composed of Indian soldiers who had been captured by the Japanese, and of Indians who were settled in different countries of south-east Asia. The soldiers of INA marched towards India raising the slogan 'Jai Hind'. You have read before that Japan herself had become an imperialist country and had joined Germany and Italy in wars of conquest. The Indian nationalist movement did not consider the Japanese government as a friend of India. However, Subhash Chandra Bose, popularly known as Netaji, had organised the INA with the help of Japan. Even though many people were suspicious of Japan's intentions, the acti-

vities of Netaji and the INA aroused the patriotism of the Indian people.

The Second World War ended in 1945 with the defeat of the fascist powers. Millions of people were killed in the War. When the war was nearing its end, Italy and Germany had already been defeated, the U.S. government ordered the use of atom bombs against two cities of Japan—Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Within a few moments, these cities were razed to the ground and about 200,000 people were killed. With this the War came to an end.

Nationalist Upsurge after the War

The end of the Second World War marked a new era in the history of the world. The political scene had changed. Britain which had been a great empire was reduced to the position of a second rate power. The USSR emerged as one of the two great powers in the world. The War had been fought in the name of freedom and democracy. Its end brought about a new political atmosphere in the world. Many countries in eastern Europe became socialist. The international position of all imperialist countries was weakened. There was a widespread upsurge of the people all over Asia and Africa for independence. It was no longer possible to suppress movements for independence. Thus as a result of the war, fascism was destroyed and the old imperialist countries also suffered a setback. In Britain the Labour Party came to power. There were many people in the Labour Party who sympathised with the Indian people's struggle for independence.

There was a widespread and fresh upsurge in India against the British rule. The British government put three officers of the Indian National Army on trial at Red Fort in Delhi for the 'crime' of fighting against the British forces. There were disturbances all over the country against the trial. The three officers were convicted but they had to be freed. There were demonstrations, strikes and hartals all over the country. People plunged themselves into the last battle for freedom. There was disaffection in the armed forces also. The naval ratings revolted, pulled down the flags. The days of the British rule were coming to an end. The British rulers realised that it was no longer possible to hold the Indian people in subjugation.

Coming of Independence

The British government announced in 1946 that they were willing to end their rule over India. A Cabinet Mission was sent to India to hold negotiations with Indian leaders on the transfer of power. It proposed the formation of an interim government and the convening of a Constituent Assembly composed of members elected by provincial legislatures and the nominees of the rulers of Indian states. An interim cabinet headed by Jawaharlal Nehru was formed. The Muslim League and the princes refused to participate in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly which started its work of framing the constitution in December 1946.

The Muslim League pressed its demand for a separate State of Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten, the new Viceroy, presented a plan for the division of India into two indepen-

dent States—India and Pakistan. In 1946 there had been riots in Bengal, Bihar, Bombay and other places in which thousands of Hindus and Muslims were killed. The announcement of partition was followed by more riots, particularly in the Punjab. In a few months, about 500,000 people, Hindus and Muslims, were killed and millions became homeless. Such wanton killing of innocent people had never occurred in the history of India before. The hatred preached by the communal parties, encouraged by the British rulers, had borne fruits. Decency was thrown overboard and most shameless inhuman acts were perpetrated. Many people of all communities devoted themselves to the cause of restoring sanity. Many were killed while trying to save the lives of members of other communities.

It was in the midst of these massacres that India became free on 15 August 1947. A separate State of Pakistan comprising West Punjab, East Bengal, Sind and North-West Frontier Province was created. The Indian people after their century long struggle had thrown out the foreign yoke even though it happened in the midst of unimaginable tragedies. Jawaharlal Nehru became the first Prime Minister of free India. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when 15 August dawned, India, as Nehru said, awoke to life and freedom.

The Constituent Assembly also began to function as the Parliament of independent India. On 14 August Jawaharlal Nehru in his address to the Assembly outlined the tasks that lay ahead before the Indian people. These were tasks of "ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity". He spoke of the pledge of

“dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity”. He called upon the people “to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell”. On the morning of 15 August, the national flag of independent India was hoisted at the Red Fort. The Indian people became masters of their own destiny. The task of building a new India began.

The path that independent India was to follow had developed during the struggle for independence. The struggle



Jawaharlal Nehru being sworn in as the first Prime Minister of Independent India. (Courtesy : Press Information Bureau, Government of India)

had been fought with the aim of making the Indian people sovereign. It meant that it was a struggle for the establishment of democracy in which all power vested in the people as a whole and not in one or the other section.

It had been composed of people belonging to different religious faiths, speaking different languages and practising a variety of customs. Though there had been divisive elements like the communal parties, they had not succeeded in making the movement of independence as one of or the other community. Thus the nationalist movement was a secular movement, that is, a movement which represented the interests of all communities, and which treated religion as a matter of every citizen's personal belief. Every citizen had a right to his or her religious beliefs and no particular religion enjoyed any special status. Secularism is an organic part of any democratic movement. Democracy means that all citizens are equal and they cannot be equal unless they have the same rights or freedoms—whether they are rights like those of speech or of religious beliefs. Thus as the nationalist movement had made the establishment of democracy in independent India as its principal aim, it had also given independent India the character of secularism. There could be no discrimination in independent India on the basis of religion and, for the State, religion was a matter of each individual's personal belief.

The nationalist movement had also put before itself the aim of reconstructing the Indian society so as to establish a just social order. This aim had become clearer with the spread of socialist ideas. To realise this aim, independent

India had to struggle hard to abolish the practices that created inequalities in society, to bring about fast economic development and to prevent the concentration of economic power in a few hands.

The nationalist movement had also evolved a policy on world affairs. It was based on the principle of equality of all people. It, therefore, meant that independent India would support all peoples fighting for their national independence. It was firm in its belief that freedom is indivisible and that no country's freedom is secure unless every country is free. It had also advocated a policy of peace because only in peace can the work of reconstruction be done and universal brotherhood promoted. The policy of peace was also based on the conviction that there is no conflict of interest among the common people of all nations. The policy of freedom and peace thus became the corner-stone of independent India's foreign policy.

Guided by these principles, the people of India started in 1947 on their course as an independent nation.

Immediate Tasks

There were many immediate tasks that needed solution. The first was the task of political unification of India. You have read before of the struggle of the people living in princely states. Some of these princes at the time of independence dreamt of becoming independent rulers. However, within a short period after independence, these states were abolished and became integral parts of India. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who was then the Home Minister of

Independent India played a leading role in the abolition of princely states and their integration with India.

Soon after independence, raiders from Pakistan invaded Kashmir. However, the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir which was a princely state considered themselves a part of the Indian nation. They fought against the Pakistani invaders. The state acceded to India and the Indian army was sent there to throw out the Pakistani invaders. Jammu and Kashmir became a part of India.

Within a few months after independence, the Indian people suffered a great tragedy. Gandhiji had played an unparalleled role in awakening the Indian people, and had led them in their struggle for independence for long years. He was the greatest man that modern India had produced and one of the noblest in the history of mankind. It was under his guidance and leadership that India had fought for and achieved independence. That is why he is known as the Father of the Nation. One of the causes that he had devoted his life to was the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. When the communal riots broke out he toured the riot-stricken areas with his message of love and brotherhood to restore peace and communal amity. The killings of Hindus and Muslims and the partition of the country had caused him deep anguish. However, his message of love and brotherhood was not to the liking of some people. Their minds had been poisoned by their hatred for other communities. On 30 January 1948, a Hindu fanatic shot him dead as he was going to a prayer meeting. The Indian people who were just beginning to recover from the shock of massacre and destruction of the

previous year were plunged into mourning. Jawaharlal Nehru said "Light has gone out of our lives". Gandhiji had been a source of inspiration to a world full of strifes, a man who upheld truth and humanity above everything else. He had come to be known as the Mahatma to the people of India and the world. He had devoted his life to the aim of wiping every tear from every eye, to root out suffering and oppression from everywhere. It was left to the next generation and to us to make his dream come true.

One of the major immediate problems facing independent India was the problem of rehabilitating the refugees. Millions of people had been rendered homeless in areas which had gone to Pakistan. They migrated to India to begin a new life for themselves. They had to be provided with immediate relief, shelter and jobs. The government and the people extended their help in settling them down. They themselves took their sufferings in their stride and began to settle down to begin a new life.

The partition of the country created many economic problems. There was a shortage of raw material for many industries. Most of the jute and cotton textile factories were in India while the major jute and cotton-producing areas went to Pakistan. As a result of this, many jute and cotton textile factories had to be closed down. The shortage of raw materials was overcome with great difficulty. A large part of the wheat-growing area now formed a part of Pakistan and rice-growing area had gone to East Pakistan, now Bangladesh. Proportionate to the population, a large part of the irrigated area also went to Pakistan. Because of this, there

was a shortage of foodgrains in India for some time. The Second World War and the partition had also disrupted the transport system of the country.

Meanwhile, the work of framing the Constitution for independent India was in progress. The Constituent Assembly completed its work on 26 November 1949. On 26 January 1950 India became a Republic and on that date the Constitution framed by the Indian people came into force. The day that had been observed as Independence Day since 1930 now became the day when the Indian people proclaimed India to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic.

EXERCISES

I. Answer the following questions :

1. What were the main activities of the Congress immediately after the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation movement ? Also mention the names of some prominent nationalist leaders of that time.
2. What was the Simon Commission ? Why did the Indian people oppose it ?
3. What is the importance of the Congress session held at Lahore in 1929 in the history of the struggle for freedom ?
4. What do you understand by Dandi March ?
5. Why was the Civil Disobedience movement launched ?
6. What were the Round Table Conferences and what was the attitude of the Congress towards them ?
7. What were the main decisions taken at the Karachi session of the Congress ?

8. What were the activities of the terrorist revolutionaries ? Give the names of at least four revolutionaries who were active after 1925.
9. How did the ideas of socialism spread in India ? What was their impact on the movement for freedom ?
10. What was the role of the communal parties in the struggle for independence ?
11. What was the attitude of the nationalist movement in India towards other peoples' struggles for freedom and democracy. Give two examples.
12. What were the main features of the Government of India Act of 1935 ? What was the attitude of the Congress towards it ?
13. What was the attitude of the nationalist movement towards the Second World War ?
14. What is meant by the States' Peoples' Movement ? What was the attitude of the Congress towards it ?
15. Why was the Indian National Army formed ? What did it do for the freedom of the country ?
16. Under what circumstances did India gain independence ?
17. What were the problems facing the Indian people immediately after independence ?

II. In column A are given some events and in column B some dates.
Match the two columns.

A	B
1. Muslim League demands the creation of Pakistan.	1929
2. Congress passes resolution demanding Complete Independence.	1937
3. British government appoints the Simon Commission.	1940

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| 4. The nationalist movement decided to celebrate this day as the Independence Day. | 1927 |
| 5. The Congress passes the Quit India Resolution. | 26 January 1930 |
| 6. Gandhiji assassinated. | 15 August 1950 |
| 7. The Congress forms ministries in provinces. | 1942 |
| 8. Achievement of Independence. | 26 January 1950 |
| 9. India becomes a Republic. | 1946 |
| 10. British government appoints the Cabinet Mission. | 30 January 1948 |

III. Things to do :

1. Prepare a time-line showing important dates and events in the history of the freedom movement from 1925 to 1947.
2. Write an essay each on the life and work of Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose. For this purpose you may read their biographies and some of their writings and speeches. To illustrate your essays, you may request the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Tin Murti House, New Delhi, to send you photographs.
3. With the help of your teachers, your classmates, and senior students in the school, you may organise an exhibition on the history of the freedom movement. The exhibition may include, among other things, photographs and drawings of the leaders and of some events, photographs of reports in old newspapers, and parts of important resolutions.
4. Prepare a map of Independent India.

